

MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY

September, 1943

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Edited by

EDWARD GODFREY COX
Managing Editor

DUDLEY D. GRIFFITH

CURTIS C. D. VAIL

HOWARD LEE NOSTRAND

Direct Contributions and Business Correspondence to
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THE HERO CHAMPION OF ANIMALS

By ALEXANDER H. KRAPPE

The mediaeval story collection known as the *Gesta Romanorum* contains, among many others, the following interesting tale:¹

In the reign of Caesar there lived a noble knight who, on riding one day through a forest, beheld a serpent struggling with a toad. The latter was about to get the better of his opponent when the knight put the toad to flight after wounding it. In the struggle he had however been wounded himself, and the toad's venom put him on the sick-bed, so that he was already prepared to die. At this juncture the serpent presented itself before him and, by applying its tongue to the wound, sucked up the poison until the venom was completely removed from the wound. The knight ordered milk to be given to the serpent, which drank it eagerly. No sooner had it done so than the toad entered and again attacked the serpent.² The knight at once ordered his servants to kill it. The serpent departed full of gratitude, and the knight completely recovered his health.

A similar account is given in tale 105 of the *Gesta*, with some notable variants.³ The emperor Theodosius, having lost his eyesight, put up a bell in his palace; and the law was that whoever had any suit to make should pull the string with his own hands.⁴ It so happened that a serpent made its nest under the bell-rope and there brought forth young. A toad, however, took possession of the nest in the absence of the owners. Finding it impossible to eject the intruder, the serpent coiled its tail around the bell-rope and forcibly rang the bell. On learning what had happened, the emperor ordered the toad killed. The grateful serpent rewarded its benefactor by presenting to him a stone which restored his eye-sight.⁵

Of these differences, one of the most fundamental is the incident of the grateful serpent's reward, which is absent from the former story, but very much in evidence in the latter. With the

¹ Ed. Oesterley (Berlin, 1872), No. 99, pp. 424 ff.; trans. Swan (London, 1905), pp. 170 f.

² On the vindictiveness of the toad in folk-belief cf. Paul Sébillot, *Traditions et superstitions de la Haute-Bretagne* (Paris, 1882), II, 229.

³ Ed. Oesterley, pp. 435 f.; Swan, pp. 182 f.

⁴ On this theme cf. *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. Oesterley, pp. 728 f.

⁵ The motive of a serpent rewarding a benefactor with a precious stone, a pearl, etc. is widely diffused and is found even in China. Cf. W. Eberhard, *Typen chinesischer Volksmärchen* [FF Communications No. 120] (Helsinki, 1937), p. 33.

former must be classed at least two other mediaeval texts, viz., an episode in Jansen Enenkel's *Weltbuch*⁶ and a second, found in the Bavarian chronicle of Weihenstephan.⁷ Both attribute the story to Charlemagne. This reading is also borne out by a chap-book of Swiss origin, *Das Buch vom heiligen Karl* (where, however, the stone has quite different properties)⁸ and by a story in Johannes Pauli's *Schimpf und Ernst*.⁹

It is of course quite true that the toad was (and occasionally still is) considered a poisonous animal;¹⁰ but the reputation of the serpent is hardly better, for the excellent reason that there are venomous snakes. The story in this form is therefore apt to arouse some misgivings. However this may be, it clearly did not make its appearance in Europe until the latter part of the middle ages and seems to be of Oriental origin.

Ibn Nobatāh¹¹ relates the following story which, by its very setting, is obviously derived from some Sassanid account antedating the Moslem conquest of Persia:

King Kesra (i.e., Kosros Anushirvān) was in his bower when a serpent approached the nest of a pigeon in one of the crevices of the wall, with the intention of swallowing the young birds. The king promptly killed the snake with an arrow, saying: "This is how we treat the enemies of those who have sought and obtained our protection." A few days later the pigeon returned with a seed in its beak. The king ordered it to be sown, and from it obtained sweet basil, a plant unknown up to that time.

This does not mean that the texts representing the serpent as plaintiff arose in the Occident, as one might perhaps be tempted to think in view of the very small number of poisonous species existing in Europe. Qazwini knew a variant in which the serpent is the party wronged:¹²

King Kesra was in his bower when a serpent presented itself before him. Suspecting that the reptile had some complaint, the monarch ordered his guards to follow it. They were led to a well, where the plaintiff's mate was being attacked by a black scorpion.

⁶ Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen, *Gesamtabenteuer* (Stuttgart-Tübingen, 1850), III, p. cxliv; *Kaiserchronik*, ed. Massmann, III, 999 ff.

⁷ Gaston Paris, *Journal des Savants* (1896), pp. 722 f.

⁸ *Ibid.* A. Bachmann and S. Singer, *Deutsche Volksbücher aus einer Zürcher Handschrift des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts* [Bibliothek d. Litt. Vereins in Stuttgart, Bd. CLXXXV] (Tübingen, 1889), pp. xvi f.

⁹ Ed. Bolte (Berlin, 1924), No. 648.

¹⁰ Bächtold-Stäubli, *Handwörterbuch d. deutschen Aberglaubens*, V, 608.

¹¹ René Basset, *Mille et un contes, récits et légendes arabes* (Paris, 1924-27), II, 288.

¹² *Ibid.* The version of Qazwini is reproduced by a number of other Arabic writers listed by Basset with the pertinent references.

The aggressor was promptly killed by one of the guards. On the following day the serpent rewarded the king with a present of basil seeds.

It is not to be supposed that our story is necessarily of Persian provenance. In the Buddhist epic *Mahāvanso*, of Singhalese origin, a certain king Elāro, who is supposed to have reigned toward the end of the third century of the pre-Christian era, is reported to have set up a bell like the one in tale 105 of the *Gesta* and the other mediaeval texts just cited. The first plaintiff to ring it was a cow whose calf had been run over by the chariot of the king's son, and the just monarch promptly ordered his son executed. The second plaintiff was a crow whose little ones had been swallowed by a serpent, and the king did justice to the bird.¹³ We thus find here the motive of the bell, of which the two Arabic texts (and their Persian original) said nothing.

* * *

At all events, the "snake-bird" version (as it may be called) is by far the most wide-spread. It is furthermore based upon a theme of truly venerable antiquity.¹⁴ In a Babylonian hymn the eagle appears before Šamaš, the sun god, to accuse the serpent of having swallowed its young.¹⁵ In a biography of Zarathustra the sacred Hom plant, placed in the nest of two birds whose young have been devoured by serpents, protects the brood and kills the reptiles.¹⁶ In the *Bundehesh* (ed. Justi, p. 26, cap. 19[47].9) the white falcon is referred to as a destroyer of winged serpents.^{16a} In India the struggle between Garuda and the king of the nagas is one of the favorite themes of the wood carvings on temple walls.¹⁷ The theme of the Serpent swallowing the young of a bird is found in the *Pañcatantra*, though the bird succeeds in bringing about the destruction of the enemy without having recourse to justice.¹⁸ The Sicilian poet Stesichorus in one of his poems told the story of a reaper who was sent to draw water. At the spring he found an eagle

¹³ Trans. George Tournour (Ceylon, 1837), p. 128; cf. Bachmann and Singer, *op. cit.*, p. xvii.

¹⁴ Cf. A. Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1929), p. 432; Homer, *Iliad*, XII.200 ff.; A. Bastian, *Die Völker des östlichen Asien* (Jena, 1866-71), I, 110.

¹⁵ E. J. Harper, *Die babylonischen Legenden von Etana, Zu, Adapa und Dibbarra* (diss. Leipzig, 1892), p. 13.

¹⁶ A. V. W. Jackson, *Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran* (New York, 1901), p. 25.

^{16a} Cf. H. Brunnhofer, *Arische Urzeit* (Bern, 1910), p. 89.

¹⁷ Bastian, *op. cit.*, III, 141.

¹⁸ Th. Benfey, *Pantschatantra* (Leipzig, 1859), II, 57 ff., 118 ff.; cf. also I, 167 ff.

and a serpent in deadly combat: the eagle had swooped down upon the reptile but had become entangled in its coils and was about to be throttled. The reaper, knowing that the eagle was the messenger of Zeus but the serpent an evil animal, killed the latter with his sickle. The bird then showed its gratitude by upsetting a cup filled with water which had been poisoned by the snake.¹⁹ Pliny, as in so many other cases, summed up the ancient beliefs on the hostility of eagle and serpent:²⁰

It (sc. the eagle) has still more terrible combats with the dragon, and the issue is much more doubtful, although the battle is fought in the air. The dragon seeks the eggs of the eagle with a mischievous avidity, while the eagle in return carries it off whenever it happens to see it; upon these occasions, the dragon coils itself about the wings of the bird in multiplied folds, until at last they fall to the earth together.

Our theme survived into the middle ages and beyond. A curious variant occurs in a Russian chronicle compiled, it seems, under the fresh shock of the fall of Constantinople:²¹

Shortly after the foundation of that city, the emperor Constantine had a vision in which he saw a serpent attacked by an eagle which snatched the reptile up but had to face a hard struggle in the air. Finally both fell down simultaneously, and the emperor's men promptly slew the reptile and freed the eagle. On consulting his sages, Constantine was told that the serpent represented the heathen, who will conquer the Christians, symbolised by the eagle; but in the end the Christians will free the holy city and overcome the heathen.

From India our theme appears to have reached the islands of the South Pacific; witness a text from Aitutaki, one of the Cook Islands:²²

The chieftan Tara decides to build a boat and to undertake an expedition of discovery. On his way to the place where the boat is to be constructed he beholds a beautiful white heron fighting with a sea serpent. He kills the serpent, whereupon the heron calls other birds, which build his boat for him.

On the other side of the globe, a Scottish-Gaelic tale relates how the hero helps a raven struggling with a snake, by cutting off the

¹⁹ Aelian, *de nat. anim.*, XVII.37.

²⁰ *N.H.*, X.5; cf. Verg. *Aen.*, XI.755 ff. Aristotle; *Hist. anim.*, IX.1, p. 255.

²¹ A. Wesselofsky, *Russische Revue*, VI (1875), pp. 181 f.

²² Leo Frobenius, *Das Zeitalter des Sonnengottes* (Berlin, 1904), p. 63.

latter's head. In recompense the bird (who turns out to be a bewitched man) makes him a handsome present, a magic castle.²³

The hostility of eagle and serpent was noted also in pre-Columbian America. Thus the Aztecs, in A.D. 1325, are said to have settled in a place indicated to them by a sign of their gods: an eagle perched upon a prickly pear cactus, the nopal, in the act of strangling a serpent, the picture of the Great Seal of Mexico.²⁴ The tradition may be basically aetiological; but the existence of the ancient theme in the New World is none the less attested by it.

Above all, the incident forms an episode in a story type of very wide diffusion:²⁵

The hero is marooned at the bottom of a pit by the treachery of faithless companions, on an island, as a result of a shipwreck, etc. At this juncture he beholds a snake about to slip into an eyrie, to swallow the young birds in the absence of their parents. He promptly kills the reptile. On returning, the old birds at first think that he is the enemy who had killed their offspring in previous years. But the young birds set them right, whereupon the old birds render him some signal service, generally by carrying him back to the inhabited world.²⁶ In some texts he throws the flesh of the slain serpent to the young birds.²⁷

In a Damascene variant we find, instead of the snake, a "demon" who climbs a tree to kill the little birds and who is then cut in two by the hero.²⁸ The alteration undergone by the original tale is clear: snakes rather than demons are in the habit of climbing trees and of eating small birds in their nests.

A Persian variant of the well known tale of *Gül and Sanaubar*²⁹ has incorporated our theme in the following manner: The hero, in his quest of Gül, slays an enormous dragon which had been about to swallow the young of the bird Simorg in the absence of the parent birds. The grateful Simorg then carries him across seven seas to the city of Wākāf, which is the capital of the kingdom of Sanaubar and Gül.

²³ J. F. Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* (Edinburgh, 1860-62), I, 25 ff., 52.

²⁴ E. Ingersoll, *Birds in Legend, Fable and Folklore* (New York, 1923), p. 39.

²⁵ Friedrich Panzer, *Studien zur germanischen Sagengeschichte I: Beowulf* (München, 1910), pp. 186 ff.; Bolte-Polivka, *Märchen-Anmerkungen*, II (1915), pp. 301 ff.

²⁶ Maive Stokes, *Indian Fairy Tales* (London, 1880), pp. 182 f.; G. H. Damant, *Indian Antiquary* (1872), p. 115; J. N. Vogl, *Die ältesten Volksmärchen der Russen* (Wien, 1841), p. 79; W. Radloff, *Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme Südsibiriens* (St. Petersburg, 1866-86), IV, 28 ff.; 116 ff.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ J. Østrup, *Contes de Damas* (Leyde, 1897), p. 85.

²⁹ A. Strauss, *Die Bulgaren* (Leipzig, 1898), p. 258.

It is of course clear that the theme is the outgrowth of correct observations. In all countries in which serpents, whether poisonous or harmless, abound the large birds of prey are their sworn enemies, and struggles like the one described by Stesichorus may be frequently watched in tropical and subtropical regions.

On the other hand, certain tree snakes of the genera *Dryophis* and (in the New World) *Oxybelis* are known to live in trees and to attack small birds.³⁰ Putting these two facts together, it was not difficult to construct a sort of hereditary enmity between bird and snake. Thus the story of the hero killing a tree snake about to swallow young birds in their nest in the absence of the old birds is logically flawless. Its antiquity can only be surmised. What is particularly significant, however, is the fact that the oldest known version, the Babylonian story of Etana,³¹ is already badly distorted.

In this episode we learn that the hero wins the good-will of an eagle by saving it out of a pit into which it had been thrown by a serpent, its erstwhile friend whose confidence it had betrayed by eating its young. The grateful eagle then carries Etana into the sky.

The absurdities of this narrative are sufficiently obvious; it is difficult to imagine a snake throwing an eagle into a pit and even more difficult to believe that the bird would stay there. Nor is it easy to understand why the eagle should have been satisfied with eating the young snakes, while there is an excellent reason why tree snakes attack only young birds. Comparing this Babylonian tradition with the *märchen* analysed by F. Panzer, everything becomes clear. In the lost original it was evidently not the bird who had betrayed the friendship of the serpent by eating its young, but it was the serpent who had eaten (or tried to eat) the young birds. It was not the man who saved the eagle from the pit (a bird, it would seem, requires no such help), but the eagle who saved the man, and the motive for the good deed was apparently the fact that the man had earned the bird's gratitude by saving its young from the snake. It would not be easy to find a better example for the truth discovered by Kaarle Krohn and his school that a modern variant, collected from the mouth of the people, may stand closer to the archetype of the tale than an historical variant recorded in the third millenium of the pre-Christian era or even earlier.

* * *

While the stories just reviewed have unquestionably a sound basis in reality, this cannot be said of another group which calls for an examination and analysis.

³⁰ R. L. Ditmars, *Reptiles of the World* (New York, 1933), p. 195.

³¹ Jeremias, *op. et loc. cit.*

In a Turkish tale³² the hero finds a serpent struggling with an elephant. The former is getting the better of the latter; but the elephant's tusk is stuck in the serpent's throat. Both beasts call on his assistance and are lavish in promises of reward. He decides in favor of the serpent and chops off the tusk, whereupon the serpent swallows its prey. In recompense it helps the hero to obtain a magic mirror by means of which he may command a genie who fulfills all his wishes.

A variant of this tale is found among the Gagaüzy, a Turco-Tartar tribe in Bessarabia; but here a ram takes the place of the elephant.³³ In a Gipsy story, finally, the animal which the snake is unable to gulp down is a stag, and the youth strikes off its horns. Here again he is duly rewarded by the grateful serpent.³⁴

It is not to be supposed that the middle ages did not seriously believe in the possibility of serpents swallowing large animals. Pliny had stated in all seriousness, on the authority of Megasthenes, that in India adders swallow stags and bulls whole.³⁵ The idleness of such fancies becomes apparent if it is remembered that the large constrictors of the genera *Boa* (found only in the New World and in Madagascar) and *Python* can at best dispose of an adult pig. Thus the solution must be sought elsewhere.

There exists an ancient tradition according to which serpent and stag are deadly enemies,³⁶ a belief which has left traces in a prescription of Jalqut Tehillim 22, reading: "Jehudâ Ben Simon teaches: Snakes are driven from a house by fumigating it with the horn of a hind."³⁷ There also exist certain pictorial representations which appear to confirm this belief and which doubtless transmitted it to the unlettered. Thus we find, in Greek astronomy, the constellation of the Stag represented by the animal with two serpents in its nostrils,³⁸ and we begin to understand the queer dictum of Pliny

³² R. Nisbet Bain, *Turkish Fairy Tales and Folk Tales* (London, 1896), pp. 176 ff.

³³ C. Fillingham Coxwell, *Siberian and Other Folk-Tales* (London [1925]), pp. 401 ff.

³⁴ W. Aichele, *Zigeunermärchen* (Jena, 1926), p. 78.

³⁵ N.H. VIII.14.

³⁶ E. Küster, *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion* (Giesesen, 1913), p. 84 [*Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, v. 13]; O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* (München, 1906), p. 1279; Schol. Hom., II., VIII.47, ed. Bekker; Theophr., *de causis plant.*, IV.9; cf. Pliny, N.H., VIII.50; XXII.37; Aelian, *de nat. anim.*, VIII.6; Bachtold-Stäubli, *Handwörterbuch*, IV, 87 and 96 f.

³⁷ J. Scheftelowitz, *Alt-Palästinensischer Bauernglaube* (Hannover, 1925), p. 18, n. 1; cf. Pliny, N.H., XXVIII.42; Aelian, *de nat. anim.*, II.9; Bachtold-Stäubli, IV, 102.

³⁸ F. Boll, *Sphaera* (Leipzig, 1903), pp. 255 f. Cf. also Lucretius, VI.765 f.; Pliny, N.H., VIII.50; Mart., XII.29.5.

(*N.H.*, XI.115): "Cervorum anima serpentes urit." There also exists a bronze figure of a hind which seems to hold a serpent in its mouth, while the reptile appears to bite the neck of the hind.³⁹ Whatever its origin, the tradition is well established and antedates the middle ages.

On the other hand, the enmity of serpent and elephant is likewise often referred to by late classical and mediaeval writers, for example by Solinus (cap. 25. 10, p. 112), Aelian (*de nat. anim.*, VI.21), and the *Physiologus* (p. 34). Under the influence of one of these texts the author of branch B of the MHG *Wolfdietrich* replaced the struggle between serpent and lion (of which more anon) by a struggle between serpent and elephant, with the result that the hero now sides with the elephant.⁴⁰ The rise of this absurd tale is probably to be explained by the fact that the Gr. *ἐλεφας* originally meant "stag" but was subsequently applied to the elephant, with which the Greeks became familiar after Alexander's Indian campaign. Some compiler, not aware of this semantic development, drew the inference that the word *ἐλεφας*, in some Greek text mentioning the enmity of serpent and stag, had the meaning "elephant." This error antedates the compilation of Pliny's *Natural History*, as is shown by the fact that in the chapter referred to above he states: "Serpents elephantorum anima extrahunt," unaware that this is a mere doublet of the story of Stag and Serpent.

* * *

In the texts reviewed thus far one of the two protagonists is invariably a serpent, while the other is a toad (scorpion), a bird, or some large mammal. In the first and third case (with the one exception just noted) the hero sides with the serpent; in the second he aids the bird against the reptile. We now approach a group of stories in which the serpent is struggling with a large mammal but is slain by the hero, who thereby earns the gratitude of the animal he frees from the coils of the snake.

The best known variant of this group is Chrétien's *Chevalier du Lion*.⁴¹

In the course of his wanderings Yvain passes near a wood where he hears a loud howl. On drawing near he finds a serpent and a lion in deadly combat. Judging the lion the nobler animal,⁴² he cuts the serpent in two, whereupon the lion follows him like a dog.

³⁹ Babelon, *Cat. bronzes Bibl. Nat.* (Paris, 1895), No. 1200.

⁴⁰ H. Schneider, *Die Gedichte und die Sage von Wolfdietrich* (München, 1913), p. 315.

⁴¹ Ed. Foerster (1887), vv. 3341 ff.; cf. A. G. Brodeur, *PMLA*, XXXIX (1924), 485 ff., where the older literature is cited.

⁴² Cf. the passage in Stesichorus referred to above, where the eagle is considered the "nobler" animal. It is almost needless to add that such a favorable view was not taken of the lion in Judaism and early Christianity. For them

This episode was believed by H. Gaidoz⁴³ to have been derived from an incident, historical or believed to be historical, the hero of which was one Golfier de Lastrous, a Limousine knight who took part in the first crusade. The oldest known text referring to this adventure is found in the *Chronicle* of Jaufré de Vigéois, which was completed in 1184. It clearly does not carry us beyond Chrétien. Some allusions to the story, in Guillem Margret and Gaucelm Faïdit, would make it likely that the tale was known somewhat earlier;⁴⁴ but there is no proof conclusive that it antedates the composition of Chrétien's work.

Virtually contemporaneous with Chrétien is Alexander Neckam, who recorded a similar tale: A knight saves a lion from the deadly coils of a constrictor and is followed by the grateful beast, which assists him in the sequel in many a bitter struggle.⁴⁵

Much earlier, in fact antedating the first crusade, is an episode recorded by Petrus Damianus, who died in 1072.⁴⁶ In this story several travellers rescue a lion, which is about to be dragged into the lair of a huge serpent. Here again the lion is referred to as *nobilissimus bestiarum* and shows his gratitude for the service rendered by supplying his saviors with game.

This tale has been plausibly shown to have been derived from a story found in Pliny (*N.H.* VIII.16), where no mention is made of a lion-serpent fight but where the lion is relieved of a bone which stuck to its teeth, causing him excruciating pain.⁴⁷

The text of Petrus Damianus disposes of the conjecture according to which the theme was introduced into Europe by some knight or monk shortly after the first crusade. It does not prove that the story is not of Near Eastern inspiration. Pilgrimages to the Holy Land antedate by far the first crusade, and it was only in the Near East that tamed lions could be observed.⁴⁸ We know, for example, that one crusader, in 1101, dared to kill the pet lion of the emperor

both lion and dragon were symbols of the Evil One; cf. *Ps.* XC.13: *Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis et conculcabis leonem et draconem*. Nor is this in the least surprising: the Orientals were too familiar with the true character of the lion to entertain such romantic views of the beast as are found in our theme; cf. G. Baist, *Romanische Forschungen*, XXIX (1910), p. 319.

⁴³ *Mélusine*, V (1890-91), col. 217-24, 241-44; VI (1892-93), col. 73-75; cf. E. Philipot, *Annales de Bretagne*, VIII (1892), pp. 56 f.

⁴⁴ A. Pillet, *Mitteilungen d. Schlesischen Gesellschaft f. Volkskunde*, XIII-XIV (1911-12), pp. 640-47; F. Naudieth, *Zeitschrift f. romanische Philologie*, Beih. LII (1932), pp. 94-98, 118 f.

⁴⁵ *De naturis rerum*, II.148, ed. Rolls Series, pp. 229 ff.; cf. Brodeur, *loc. cit.*, pp. 495 f.

⁴⁶ Petr. Damian., *Epist.* VI.5; cf. Baist, *loc. cit.*, p. 317.

⁴⁷ Brodeur, p. 502.

⁴⁸ Gaidoz, *loc. cit.*, V, 219 f.

Alexius.⁴⁹ It was therefore not unnatural that our story should have become attached to the person of a crusader.

Nor is this all. It was a custom to place stone lions as symbols of fortitude⁵⁰ at the feet of Christian martyrs, and lions were sculptured on the tombs of crusaders, a tradition and a symbolism which goes back into classical antiquity.⁵¹ To naïve onlookers the symbolical meaning remained hidden, and they concluded that these lions represented some real lion who was forthwith supposed to have somehow been connected with the hero's biography. Stories of tamed lions, told by men returning from the East, also came to mind, with tales such as the lion of Androcles⁵² and the lions of St. Macarius,⁵³ and thus the inference was drawn that the sculptured lion on a crusader's tomb represented his pet.

At all events, there can be no doubt that Chrétien's poem exercised a tremendous influence upon mediaeval letters and was largely responsible for the growing popularity of our theme all over Europe.⁵⁴ A few examples must suffice. In the Italian *Tavola Ritonda*⁵⁵ Perceval rescues a lion cub which had been carried off by a serpent. The fight of lion and serpent is alluded to in the *Roman de Ham*⁵⁶ and in the *Chanson de la Croisade contre les Albigeois*.⁵⁷ In Germany our theme was incorporated in the *Wolfdietrich*, where the hero does not succeed in saving the lion,⁵⁸ in the traditions that grew out of the crusade of Henry the Lion,⁵⁹ in the *Pöðreks Saga* (c. 418) and in the Danish ballads about Dietrich von Bern derived from it.⁶⁰ It is also found in a German *märchen*,⁶¹ in which literary influences are clearly discernible. Nor did our story lose its vogue in France,

⁴⁹ This historical episode has left its imprint on the MHG *König Rother*; cf. Uhland, *Schriften*, I, 105.

⁵⁰ It is the symbolism behind the lions at the base of the Nelson Column in Trafalgar Square.

⁵¹ Gaidoz, V, 222.

⁵² Brodeur, pp. 502 ff.

⁵³ Cf. Johannes Pauli, *Schimpf und Ernst*, ed. Bolte (1924), No. 649, and the references in vol. II, p. 398.

⁵⁴ On translations and paraphrases of Chrétien's poem cf. Brodeur, p. 523.

⁵⁵ Ed. F.-L. Polidori, I (Bologna, 1864), p. 461. For other Italian derivatives of our episode cf. Brodeur, pp. 423 f.

⁵⁶ Cf. Francisque Michel, *Histoire des ducs de Normandie et des rois d'Angleterre* (Paris, 1840), p. 411; index, s. v. *lyon*.

⁵⁷ Ed. Paul Meyer, II (Paris, 1879), pp. 379 f.

⁵⁸ Schneider, *op. cit.*, pp. 263 f., 296; W. Golther, *Die deutsche Dichtung im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1922), p. 339.

⁵⁹ H. Pröhle, *Deutsche Sagen* (Berlin, 1879), pp. 3 ff.; W. Seehaussen, Michel Wyssenherr's Gedicht "Von dem edeln harn von Bruneczweigk, als er über mer fure" und die Sage von Heinrich dem Löwen (Breslau, 1913), pp. 93 ff. [*Germanistische Abhandlungen*, H. 43].

⁶⁰ Grundtvig, *DgF*, No. 9; Léon Pineau, *Les vieux chants populaires scandinaves* (Paris, 1898-1901), I, 165; Schneider, p. 244.

⁶¹ Paul Zaunert, *Deutsche Märchen seit Grimm*, II (Jena, 1923), p. 71.

witness the romance of *Gilles de Chin* (v. 3730), a particularly instructive instance since we know this attribution to have been the result of a fanciful interpretation of that crusader's coat-of-arms.⁶² Our theme gave rise, however indirectly, to a Spanish story which, in spite of its Moorish setting, is clearly Occidental.⁶³

How is the origin of the theme to be accounted for? It is hardly necessary to say that serpents are even less likely to attack lions than they are to engage in combat with elephants. The story is therefore obviously fabulous. It is also worth noting that in Western Europe, where these tales were current, there are neither lions nor serpents capable of engaging in such a struggle even if they had a mind to do so.

If Western Europe was ignorant of lions and large serpents *in natura*, it knew both animals extremely well none the less thanks to armorial signs and similar symbolical representations. In particular there existed certain representations of the zodiacal figures which could (and doubtless did) suggest the basic idea. Thus on the transept face of the church of St. Isidore in Leon, Spain, a lion, the symbol of the constellation *Leo*, is depicted struggling with a serpent, in whose coils *Sagittarius* is caught, while *Capricorn* goes off at the tail into a long snake.⁶⁴ If it is remembered that the overwhelming majority of the onlookers, both knights and commoners, were quite unable to penetrate the astronomical meaning, but that they doubtless recalled dragon fight stories, it will appear natural enough that they should have interpreted such pictures in a literal sense: the knight (*Sagittarius*) beholding a lion and a serpent in mortal combat and siding with the lion against the "old serpent," man's hereditary enemy.

There is no likelihood of Chrétien's poem having influenced the imagery referred to; the zodiac and its representation in art is much older than Chrétien; it goes back into classical antiquity and beyond. Thus in Ancient Egypt the divine Cat (very probably a lion) who represented the great sun god Ra, in the papyrus Cadet is shown near a tree, holding under its paw a serpent's head. In the papyrus of Dublin and of Leyden the same cat is seen in the act of cutting off the head of the reptile. To the Egyptians this dragon or serpent

⁶² A. Maury, *Revue archéologique*, II (1845), p. 543. Cf. Reiffenberg, *Gilles de Chin* (Bruxelles, 1847), p. lxxvi; G. Liégeois, *Gilles de Chin, l'histoire et la légende* (Louvain-Paris), 1905, pp. 20, 47 ff.; cf. Pillet, *Archiv f. d. Studium d. neueren Spr. u. Lit.*, CXIII (1904), pp. 447 ff.; Brodeur, p. 413, n. 58.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 489.

⁶⁴ Giorgiana G. King, *The Way of Saint James* (New York-London, 1920), II, 190.

was the chthonian principle, Apophis or Set, the principle of Evil, overcome by Osiris or Ra.⁶⁵

Subsequent interpreters assumed this "cat" to be a panther, and so we find in the *Physiologus* (p. 19) the story of the enmity between panther and dragon. This version appears to have influenced the MHG *Apollonius* of Heinrich v. Neustadt, where the hero sides with a panther in the latter's struggle with a dragon.⁶⁶

The most powerful force in promoting the popularity of the theme was, however, the moral allegory which had become attached, in the early middle ages, to both lion (panther) and serpent. The former had developed into a symbol of Christ, while the latter was the Evil One. The knight who stepped in to help the lion was thus a true knight of the *Ecclesia militans*, the living symbol of the Christian soldier.⁶⁷ The full meaning of this is well brought out in an *exemplum* found in the *Liber exemplorum*, composed between 1275 and 1279:⁶⁸

Exemplum de leone, de quo fertur, sicut dicitur in summa de viciis, quod cum quidam miles a serpente liberavit et a milite recedere noluit. Quid igitur excusacionis habebunt, qui deserentes redemptorem suum serpenti adherent infernali.

* * *

In summing up the conclusions reached, it is well to state that there is no story "type" which might be designated as that of the Hero Champion of Animals. Instead we have four types having one feature in common: a serpent is struggling with some other beast, and this struggle is decided by the hero's timely intervention. In the first of these four types the serpent appears as a plaintiff before a monarch and obtains justice. This is clearly a migratory legend, probably of Indian origin, which reached Sassanid Persia before the Islamic conquest and became diffused in Europe after the crusades. In the second type the hero saves young birds by killing a tree snake and is richly rewarded by the old birds. This is a *märchen* episode of great antiquity. It may have originated wherever tree snakes fell under the observation of man, that is, in a large part of the tropics and in many subtropical countries. The third type describes a struggle between a serpent and a large mammal, the hero siding with the serpent. This type is based on an ancient tradition referring to the supposed enmity between serpent and stag. This tradition, which has

⁶⁵ P. Saintyves, *Les contes de Perrault et les récits parallèles* (Paris, 1923), pp. 483 f.

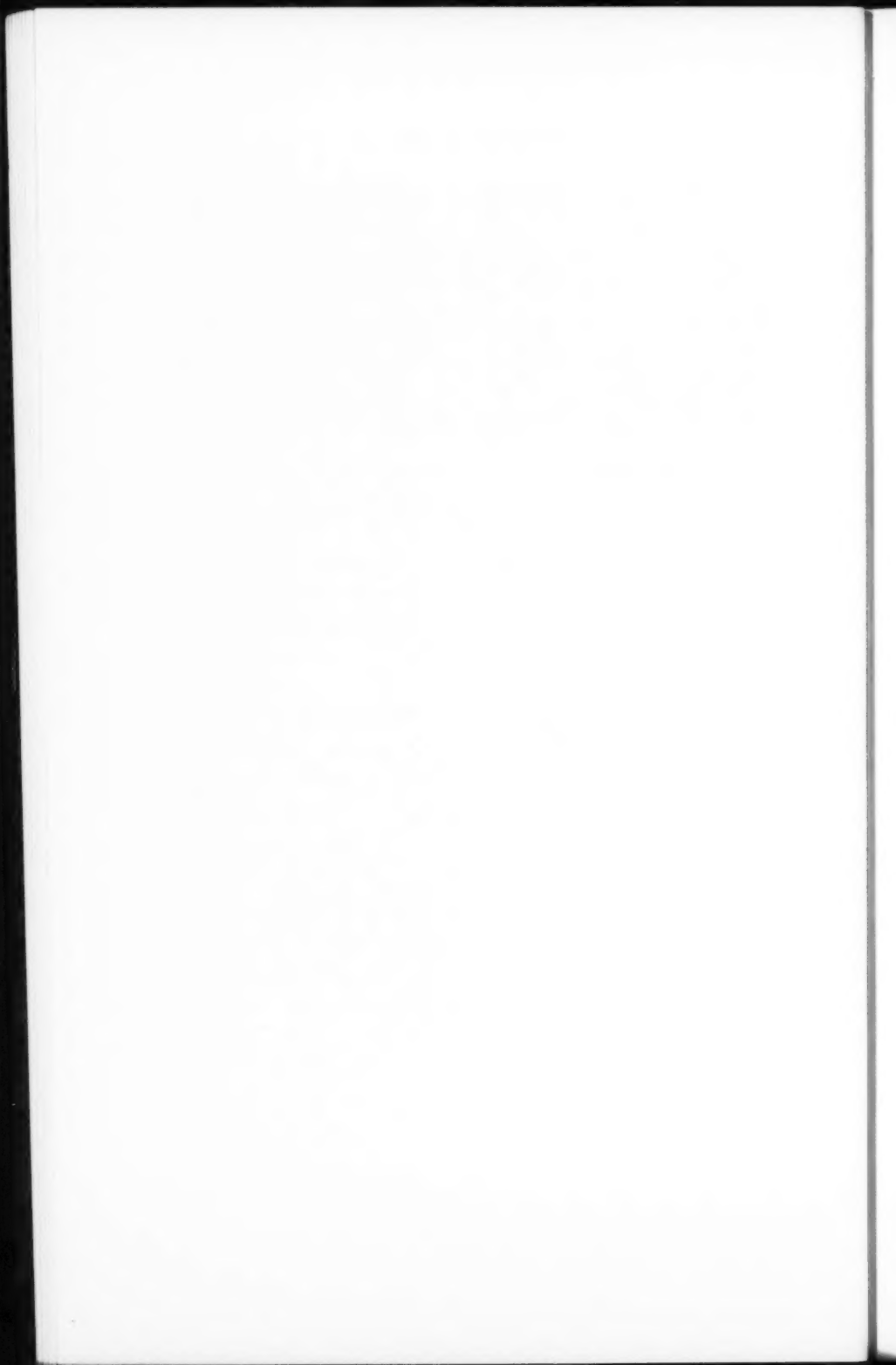
⁶⁶ Schneider, p. 273.

⁶⁷ Brodeur, pp. 508 ff.

⁶⁸ Ed. A. G. Little, p. 47, §80.

nō foundation in fact, appears to have arisen from certain pictorial representations of the zodiac, on the whole considerably older than Graeco-Latin antiquity. The stag was replaced by the elephant, in some Greek-speaking country, owing to the double meaning of the word *ἐλεφας*. Pictorial representations of an astronomical nature, characterised by their conservatism, seem also to be responsible for the fourth type, in which the serpent fights a lion or panther. Under the influence of mediaeval allegory the lion (panther) came to symbolise Christ, the serpent the principle of Evil. The perfect knight, a true soldier of the *Ecclesia militans*, naturally sided with the lion, and thus arose the episode made famous by the poem of Chrétien de Troyes and his imitators.

Princeton, New Jersey



MILTON AND THE HOBSON POEMS

By G. BLAKEMORE EVANS

Milton's Hobson poems, "the Junior Soph's very learned jocularities" as Coleridge once described them, are important to the student principally for two reasons. They are, first, more frankly "un-Miltonic" than any of his other poems, and, second, they help us to understand a side of his character which, in the pursuit of the old-fashioned Milton myth, is too easily forgotten—his fondness for society and his participation in and evident enjoyment of intellectual relaxation in the company of his lesser contemporaries. In the Hobson verses as nowhere else Milton seems to have been content to vie with his fellows in pleasant mediocrity, and, what is perhaps more important for our understanding of his character, to have remained unrepentant of the result.

How essentially "un-Miltonic" and how similar in tone and language Milton's Hobson poems are to the other verses made on the same occasion by his college fellows can be realized only after a thorough study of the group as a whole. Unfortunately, however, such a comparative study has been beyond the power of most students, since no collection of the Hobson verses has ever been published. In some way, therefore, to supply this want I have, with the generous assistance of Professor W. R. Parker, who has contributed the lion's share of the material, brought together in the following study all the Hobson verses which some years of reading in commonplace books (their natural habitat) have restored to light.

As a whole the group of Hobson verses is neither much worse nor better than are scores of similar poems written during the same period. The wire-drawn conceits, the harsh metrics, the word play, especially the attempt to be clever even at the expense of death—all are part of the poetical manner of such poets as Cleveland, John Hall, Cartwright, Corbet, and Strode, to confine the list only to the universities. It is a style of elegy which combined qualities from Latin satire, particularly epigram, with the metaphysical method of the school of Donne.

Surprise has often been expressed—and even still is—that the mature Milton should decide to include his Hobson poems in both the 1645 and 1673 volumes. The usual explanation is that Milton seems to have been, perhaps unduly, anxious that nothing of his juvenilia should be lost to posterity, with the result that in the *Poems* (1645) he included almost anything he could reclaim from

the "backward and abysm of time." Although there is doubtless much truth in this theory of the workings of the "egotistic sublime," there is, I feel, another and perhaps more basically important reason. Readers of Milton, particularly the Milton of the prose, must again and again be struck by the heavy-handedness, not to say occasional bad taste, of his attempts at wit or humor. A true spirit of fun was alien to his nature and his occasional essays in exercising that spirit evidence a lack of what so preeminently distinguished him in every other field—a sure self-critical sense. By this I do not mean to reflect a particular criticism on his Hobson verses. As we shall see, they are as good as the other Hobson poems, in some respects better. But what we expect from the poetical judgment of other men and what we expect from the taste of Milton are two very different things. Here it seems to me lies one of the lessons to be learned from Milton's Hobson poems. That they are not good poetry need not disturb us, but that Milton considered them as not unworthy examples in their kind is revealing.

Of the seven poems here collected five appear in print for the first time. Milton's two poems I have not reproduced since they are easily obtainable elsewhere. Of the two formerly published poems, one appeared in *A Banquet of Jests* (1640) and in *Wit Restor'd* (1658) in company with some of Milton's lines,¹ the other under an engraving of Hobson by J. Payne published sometime before Payne's death in 1647.²

Not very much can be said of the poems as a group. The facts of Hobson's death which they "celebrate" may be found at length in the first volume of Masson's *Life of Milton* (1881),³ and need not be repeated here. Whether the poems are the work of a single little coterie or of a scattering of Cambridge students cannot be certainly determined. Echoes in phrasing and parallelisms in thought throughout the group, however, seem to point to the first conclusion. Only three individuals can be connected with the poems. Besides Milton, there are William Hall, also of Christ's College, and a certain Mr. Hacksby of whom we know nothing. Apart from the

¹ See Todd's *Milton* (1801), VI, 89, and an article by Professor W. R. Parker in *Modern Language Review*, XXXI (1936), pp. 395-402.

² This print was re-engraved in the eighteenth century and published in *Portraits Illustrating Grangers Biographical History of England*, Part 1st (1792), No. 87. (A short account of Hobson appears in James Granger's *A Biographical History of England* [3rd ed., 1779], II, 400-401.) A photographic reproduction of the original may be found as frontispiece in a book recently published by the Cambridge University Press called *Hobson's Conduit: The New River at Cambridge Commonly Called Hobson's River* (1938), by W. D. Bushell. In Appendix I (pp. 122-123) Mr. Bushell reprints Milton's second Hobson poem and the "betters-letters" verses (see No. I below), the second from an eighteenth-century transcript made by a William Cole.

³ Pp. 240-241. See also Bushell, *Hobson's Conduit* (1938).

Hobson verses and their common college, nothing else appears to link Milton and Hall.⁴

Before I present the texts themselves, there is one poem which for several reasons demands special comment. This poem I shall refer to as the "betters-letters" verses, using the rhyme words of the first couplet to distinguish it. If popularity may be taken as a mark of merit, the "betters-letters" lines are easily the most "meritorious" of the nine Hobson poems here discussed. In addition to its two appearances in print noticed above, there are eleven known manuscript copies, and another manuscript version which enlarges the original from 18 to 121 lines. Of the other poems, Milton's included,⁵ no more than two MSS have been traced for any one poem, and four occur in single MSS.

Recently some interest has been expressed in the possibility of Milton's authorship of these "betters-letters" verses.⁶ Professor Parker, who suggests the attribution, does so only with the fullest reservations. He merely points out that it is perhaps significant that on both occasions when Milton's acknowledged verses appear outside the 1645 *Poems*, they should be accompanied by these lines.⁷ The argument is, of course, avowedly very tenuous. On the other hand, there are but two points against Milton's authorship which seem to be of any importance: the relative popularity of the "betters-letters" lines (a negative argument), and the fact that in one instance they appear to be connected with the name of a Mr. Hacksby. The Hacksby signature appears in one MS (British Museum, Addit. 15, 227, fol. 74^r) after a little "Epitaphe" which in two cases immediately follows the "betters-letters" verses. The lines read as follows (British Museum, Harl. 791, fol. 45^r):

Epitaphe

Heere lyes Hobson
Vnder this Stone
Who hath beene drawing on
Three score yeares, and one[.]

⁴ The facts of Hall's academic career may be found in *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, ed. John Venn and J. A. Venn (1922), Part I, Vol. II. Milton was Hall's elder by two years and entered Christ's two years before him.

⁵ For an account of the Milton manuscript versions see Professor Parker's article (*op. cit.*) and a note by the present writer in *Modern Language Notes*, LVII (March, 1942), pp. 192-194.

⁶ See the *Columbia Milton*, XVIII (1938), pp. 590-591.

⁷ In *A Banquet of Jests* (1640) the poem immediately follows Milton's "second" Hobson verses; in *Wit Restor'd* (1658) it immediately precedes them. In one MS (Huntington, H.M.116, p. 100 and p. 103) the two poems are also associated, although separated by three non-Hobson poems.

In the version signed Hacksby, the quatrain is reduced to three lines:

Heere lyes Hobson
who was drawing on
Fourescore yeeres & one. M^r Hacksby.

It is, of course, possible that these lines were originally intended as a separate poem, but it seems more probable that, as in a number of other contemporary elegiac poems,⁸ the two parts were intended to complement each other. If such is the case, then it is fair to say that the Hacksby signature might legitimately be thrown into the scale against possible Miltonic authorship. More weight than this, however, it cannot be allowed.

One interesting problem in connection with these same verses remains to be discussed. As I have already noted, there is in existence a version of the lines in which the original has been worked up into a poem almost seven times as long (121 as compared with 18 lines). The reasons for considering the shorter poem as the "original" are, I think, fairly conclusive. Of the eighteen lines in the short poem the author uses only fourteen, omitting two couplets: the third, fourth, eleventh, and twelfth lines. Otherwise, he follows the order of the short poem, beginning with the opening couplet, inserting lines five and six at line nine, and the rest of the verses at line one hundred and eight. Now it so happens that the short poem itself appears in seven MSS in two different sixteen-line forms, six MSS omitting lines three and four and one MS omitting lines eleven and twelve, *the same lines missing in the long poem*. The priority of the eighteen-line version will appear most clearly if, for the moment, we imagine the opposite to be true, namely, that the long poem is actually the original. In that case we must suppose that the adaptor taking the long poem first reduced it to fourteen lines and then added two couplets of his own. That the eighteen-line version is earlier than either of the sixteen-line versions appears from the fact that each omits two different couplets, both of which are to be found in the eighteen-line form. If, therefore, we postulate that the long poem is the original, we must suppose that independently the writers

⁸ Compare, for example, William Browne's "An Elegy On . . . Mr. Thomas Ayleworth" (*Works*, ed. G. Goodwin [1894], II, 263-266); William Drummond's "On the Death of a Nobleman in Scotland, Buried at Aithen" (*Works*, ed. W. B. Turnbull [1890], pp. 274-275); John Cleveland's "On J.W. A.B. of York" (*Works* [1687], pp. 182-183); Thomas Carew's "An Elegy on the Death of Dr. Donne" (*Poems*, ed. J. W. Ebsworth [1893], pp. 111-113); Thomas Randolph's "An Elegy upon the Lady Venetia Digby" (*Works*, ed. W. C. Hazlitt [1875], II, 549-550); Thomas Flatman's "An Elegy on the Earl of Sandwich" (*Poems and Songs* [1674], pp. 52-54). A classical example may be found in Tibullus, III, ii (Loeb ed., pp. 289-291) and a late example in Grey's *Elegy*.

of the two sixteen-line versions chanced to omit the very two couplets which were added to the original fourteen lines at the time of the composition of the eighteen-line poem — a highly improbable coincidence.

In the seven transcripts which follow I have adhered to the manuscript text as closely as possible. Further information on the text-manuscript and a list of other MSS and printed copies may be found in the footnotes to each poem.

I.

*Hobsons Epitaph The Carrier of Cambridge*⁹

Hobson lies heare amongst his many betteres
 A man not learnd, but yet of many letters,
 The schollers well can testifie as much
 That oft receiud them from his pregnant pouch[.]
 His Carradge well was knowne; oft hath he gon 5
 On Embassi twixt father, and the sonne;¹⁰
 In Cambredge fewe (in good time be it spoken)
 But well remember him by some good token.
 From thence to London rod he day by day,
 Till death benightinge him he lost his way; 10
 Then maruaile not, though he soe sounne is gone,
 For all men knew, he longe was drawinge one.
 His Teeme was of the best, nor could he haue,
 Bene mired in any ground, but in the graue;
 And there he stickes indeede, still like to stand,¹¹ 15
 Unles some Angell lende his helpinge hand.
 Soe rest in peace thou euer toylinge swaine,
 And supream waggoner next Charles his wain[.]¹²

⁹ *Text*: Harvard MS, Eng. 686, fol. 78^r (printed by permission). *Other MSS*: British Museum MS, Addit. 15, 227, fol. 74^r (16 lines); British Museum MS, Sloane 542, fol. 52 (18 lines); Bodleian MS, Tanner 465, pp. 235-236 (16 lines; variant readings for this and the two preceding MSS are recorded in the *Columbia Milton*, XVIII, p. 591); British Museum MS, Harl. 791, fol. 45^r (16 lines); British Museum MS, Harl. 6931, fol. 24^v (16 lines, omits lines 11 and 12); British Museum MS, Addit. 30, 982, fol. 65 (16 lines); British Museum MS, Addit. 6400, fol. 67^v (18 lines; an eighteenth-century transcript); Huntington MS, H.M. 116, p. 103 (18 lines); Folger MS, 1.27, fol. 68^v (16 lines); Folger MS, 452.1, p. 50 (16 lines). *Printed editions* (seventeenth-century): *A Banquet of Jestes* (1640), pp. 131-132 (reprinted in the *Columbia Milton*, XVIII, 359); *Wit Restor'd* (1658), pp. 83-84 (variant readings recorded in *Columbia Milton*, XVIII, p. 591).

¹⁰ The writer of these lines seems to have had John Earle's character of "A carrier" in mind: "A carrier Is his own hackneyman; for he lets himself out to travel as well as his horses. He is the ordinary ambassador between friend and friend, the father and the son, and brings rich presents to the one, but never returns any back again. He is no unlettered man, though in shew simple; for questionless, he has much in his budget, which he can utter too in fit time and place" (*Microcosmographie* [1628], *Temple Classics* ed., p. 25).

¹¹ Compare Milton's first Hobson poem (lines 3-4): "Or else the ways being foul, twenty to one, / He's here stuck in a slough, and overthrown."

¹² Compare No. IV, lines 5-6, and No. VI, line 4.

II.

*On Hobson the Carrier*¹³

Here Hobson lies with some some [*sic*] not his betters
 a man vnlearn'd and yett a man of letters
 who brought more schollers vpp and jn lesse space
 then the moste dilligent tutor of this place[.]
 his waie was expedit and full of ease 5
 which did Convey them to the Sciences
 that for 10 groates, hee brought vpp many a Clowne
 in two daies time to learninge and the gowne[.]
 his Carriage was approud for hee hath beene
 Ambassadors to all degrees of *Kinn* 10
 and though hee were not as a man may say
 of a fil'de tongue, nor of expression gay
 yett the Cheife learned and the Eloquent
 did Chuse him to deliver their entent
 which giues the proverbe in some sorte the lie 15
Each peece of Timber makes not Mercurie[.]¹⁴
 his wordes were fewe but true, and soe advisd
 hee was in what soe ere hee enterprisd
 that none cann taxe him against sence or course
 t'haue ever sett the Carte before the horse[.] 20
 Noe hee would allowies towne and Cittie say
 the smallest thinge came from him duly weighe [.]
 he scal'd his judgment, shewde his side (still bare
 of Blade and pistoll) did his peace declare
 (soe that this man) of mercy patterne was 25
 for judges of the Circuitt of the lawes¹⁵
 in poore theves lives to vse the sword much lesse[.]
 for temperance, and Chastety, who knowes
 he not surpast the Popes best Nuntios[.]
 Weomen as faire as any in the land 30
 did freely putt their secrettes in his hand[.]
 yett never wrongd their sheetes though men likewise
 aboundance mixt with them their privities
 for being in his honest Custodie
 their mingling never prou'd Adultery 35
 which shewd his male no bawdy house of leather
 as Coaches bee, that jumble altogether[.]
 learne Catholike confessors to forbear
 th'abuse of such, whose Consciences yee heare
 absolvinge more for honesty then sinne 40

¹³ *Text*: British Museum MS, Harl. 6057, fols. 15^v-17^r.¹⁴ Compare the Latin proverb: *Ex quovis ligno non fit Mercurius*.¹⁵ Following line 26 a line has been omitted.

those females, on whose blinde beleife you winn[;]
 Let *Hobson* teach you, take wives seecrettes soe
 as that they prove not Common ere they goe[.]
 O harmelesse *Hobson* both of good and badd
 what worldes of Comendacions hast thou hadd[?] 45
 How many preistes of either pte would bee
 in such desires soe like a post as hee[;]
 a Carrier thoughte he weare, hee lettes them finde
 tis not streight vp and ride in every kinde[;]
 a nagg that would not tire was his delight 50
 ore such his legg hee lay'd yett leaste hee might
 even in this lawfull pleasure over Lash
 and fall, as those doe whose being over rash
 by their abuse of decent thinges oft tyme
 make an ingenuous exercise a Crime[.] 55
 he bridled that delight, and held it in
 more then some doe a full Career in sinn[.]
 O rare and Constant man who though he bore
 thowsandes of mindes did never change the more
 his minde and fashion being still the same 60
 as much in hart, in habitt as in name[.]
 his stable manners were the cause noe doubt
 that did begett him many a nonsense flout
 from the Plushe tribe whose frenchifide array
 and Curles he held not worth a locke of hay[;] 65
 Maugre their vayne jeeres goeing still confinde
 in his old fashiond trunkes, farr bett lind
 then their proud soulls, and scarlettes in disgrace
 of whose brute wittes such plumes as their had place
 vppon his breast, and to vpbraid their lockes 70
 heed braid the haire vppon his horses dockes[.]
 hee brought vnto the vniuersitie
 more blessings then beholding memory
 can reckon vpp, plaine man, hee did endeavour
 both night and day to keepe the good way ever 75
 and thoughte hee thriu'd and that the world did run
 on wheelles with him when *Couchey* was vndon
 yett thence hee grewe not proud nor stay'd at towne
 to scoff and Revell, but still vpp & downe
 did beate the roade like a true Christian 80
 who beard him selfe like a waye fareinge man[;]
 for findinge that his jornies end lay thence¹⁶
 hee noe where held his place or residence[.]
 his kindnesse to his men & hastinesse
 were such as all the kingdome must confesse 85

¹⁶ The Shakespearean phrase "journey's end" also occurs in Milton's first *Hobson* poem, line 12.

a wonder, none sent servantes packeinge more
 yett none soe seldome turnd them out of dore[;]
 more was hee held more gentle in this last
 then blamelesse in the action of his hast[.]
 giue him his due his waggons were as free 90
 for the moste needy as the richest hee[.]
 a sober man hee was and yett well knowne
 to take his load, yett not be overgonne[;]
 judge hee was none, noe nor of justices order
 yett Carted hee more whores then the recorder 95
 and beinge no marchannt dealte much more in waire
 then all the marchantes that nowe tradeinge are[.]
 The Kinge neere markt him, see the planettes powers
 yett was hee in the Kinges-waie att all howers[;]
 the highest man of place that hath beene seene 100
 to doe him Countnannce was the Chamberline[;]
 nor was neglect his greife, in whome desire
 did never hier then his horse aspire[;]
 althoughe hee sought advantages and straind
 nowe att the last to mount as tis maintaind 105
 but those his paines were more to hould his owne
 then any motion of *Ambition*[.]
 jn *Cambridge* fewe to his parise [*sic*] be itt spoken
 but will remember him by some good tooke[n].
 from thence, to London rode hee daie by daie 110
 till death benightinge him he loste his way[.]
 his ttames were of the best, nor could hee haue
 beene mir'd in any place but in his graue[;]
 and there hee stickes indeed still like to stand
 till hee that made him lend a helpinge hand[.] 115
 then bale thy Corps thou everlasting Swaine
 the Supream Waggoner next Charles his wayne
 while that soule lodgeth in that jnne devine
 where the Caelestiall Bull hangs out a signe[.] 119
 lett none thinke longe his praise noe sooner ended
 whose fowerscore yeares hath had you all Comended[.]

III.

*Vpon the death of Hobson the Carrier of Cambridge.*¹⁷

Death being tyred with the tedious stay
 Of aged *Hobson*, long had wat[c]ht a day
 To snatch him hence, but still when death was come
 He never found this moueing Ghest at home,

¹⁷ Text: Folger MS, 1.21, fol. 79 (printed by permission). The poem is immediately followed by a transcript of Milton's second Hobson verses in the same hand. Another copy of this poem occurs in Folger MS, 2071.6, fol. 129^r. Although in the same hand as the transcript above, it contains several unimportant spelling and pointing variants and in line 4 reads "his" for "this." Milton's verses do not appear in the second MS.

At last hee caught him; and with Letters sendes 5
 Him from the Townesmen to their late dead frendes.
 His life was not a race as others bee,
 Twas but a trot of threescore yeares and three,
 And yet he ridd soe fast, that all the while
 Death overtooke him not, till by a wyle 10
 Hee made him stand. The vniuersitie
 Hath cause to mourne, for this his destinie
 ffor shee had lost her Learned heades before,
 And nowe to make her miserie the more,
 One of Her legges is gone; for sure 'twas hee 15
 That bore the weight of the vniuersitie;
 His waggons groane for grieve, and euery tree¹⁸
 Twixt this and London all in mourning bee.
 The Bull in sable standes and all the quire
 Of waggoners expresse their sadd desire 20
 By mournefull Whistles; I (though not his debter)
 Give him these lynes, stead of a wonted Letter.
 Guil: Hall. Christ:

IV.

*Vpon Hobson. 1631.*¹⁹

Jf Constellations w^{ch} in heaven are fixt
 Giue power by influence, to these bodies mixt,
 Or every signe peculiar right doth clayme,
 Of that to w^{ch} it ppogates a name,
 Then J coniecture Charles y^e Northerne Swayne, 5
 Whisled up Hobson, for to driue his wayne.
 Hee is not dead, h' has changed his mansion heere,
 He has left the Bull, & flitted to y^e Beare.
 Methinkes J see how Charons finger itches
 hoping to fetch him o're for all his riches, 10
 But hope J may, & hoping starue at last,
 For sure J am the heavens will keepe him fast.

V.

*An Elegie of Hobson the Carier of Cambridge*²⁰

Muses if more then nine come help relate
 the dolefull accedent of Hobsons fate
 in whom they neuer feard nor lookt for death
 till they percieud he could not draw his breath[.]

¹⁸ Compare No. V, line 9.¹⁹ Text: British Museum MS, Addit. 15, 227, fol. 74^r. Another text, containing the usual variants, may be found in British Museum MS, Harl. 791, fol. 45^r.²⁰ Text: British Museum MS, Addit. 18,044, fol. 121^r.

aged he was indeed but few his peers 5
 I thinke were knowne for caryinge of his yeares[.]
 mourne you that vsd his lecture much the better
 itt is well knowne by him by many a letter[.]
 creak all y^r carts and euery horses bell
 through the sad highwayes, and ringe hobsons knell 10
 For hes packt vp a bundell for to be
 in the great storehowse of mortallitie.

VI.

*Another on Hobson*²¹

Here lies old Hobson growne soe rich [*sic*] that he
 should no longer on earth a Carrier be[.]
 O lett the heauens then his soule retaine
 and make him wagoner of Charles his waine[;]
 for as he was Kinge Charles his carrier here 5
 promote him to that high aduanced Sphere[.]

VII.

*Verses writt under his Picture*²²

Laugh not to see soe plaine a man in print
 the Shaddows homely yet thirs something in itt
 witnesse the bag he weares though seeminge pore
 the fertill mother of a thousand more[.]
 he was a thriuinge man through lawfull gaine 5
 and wealthie grew by warrantable paine[;]
 then laugh att them that spend not them that gather
 like theiuinge sonns²³ of such a thriftie father[.]²⁴

University of Wisconsin

²¹ *Text*: British Museum MS, Addit. 18,044, fol. 121^v.

²² *Text*: British Museum MS, Addit. 18,044, fol. 121^v. These lines appeared engraved under a rare print of Hobson by John Payne (see note 2 above).

²³ The engraved text reads "thriueing Sonnes."

²⁴ Since this was written, my friend, Dr. William Bond, has brought to my attention a second signed version of the "Epitaph," thus adding a fourth name to the list of those connected with the Hobson poems. The signature is that of Hugh Holland, probably to be identified with the Hugh Holland (d. 1633) who is best known for his commendatory verses in the First Folio.

"Vpon old Hobson Cambridge Carryer.

Old Hobson's dead and gon
 who liv'd drawing on
 fflowrescore yeares and one. Hugh Holland.

Longævum aliquid in hac vita, nihil æternum." (Folger MS, F.1.27.42, fol. 20^r.)

This signature should also be considered in connection with the suggested Miltonic authorship of the "betters-letters" verses.

MILTON AND SIR JOHN HARINGTON

By RALPH A. HAUG

That in 1641-2 Milton was reading Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* in Sir John Harington's translation (the 1591 edition) we know because he quoted from canto 34 of the *Orlando* (with some emendations) in *Of Reformation in England* (London, 1641),¹ and because he wrote in the margin of his personal copy² "Questo libro due volte Io letto, Sept. 21, 1642." [I have read this (46th) book twice.]³

In *The Reason of Church-government Urg'd against Prelaty* (London, 1641), Milton's first publication signed with his full name, the pamphlet in which he announces his plans for epics, odes, and dramas, he says

... if I were certain to write as men buy Leases, for three lives and downward, there ought no regard be sooner had, then to Gods glory by the honour and instruction of my country. For which cause, and not only for that I knew it would be hard to arrive at the second rank among the Latines, I apply'd my selfe to that resolution which *Ariosto* follow'd against the perswasions of *Bembo*, to fix all the industry and art I could unite to the adorning of my native tongue. . . .⁴

In an essay, *The Life of Ariosto* . . ., in Sir John Harington's *Orlando Furioso in English Heroical Verse* (London, 1634),⁵ Sir John observes

[Ariosto] determined, as it should seeme, to make some Poem, finding his strength to serue him to it, and though he could haue accomplished it verie well in latine, yet he chose rather his natiue tongue, either because he thought he could not attaine to the highest place of praise, the same being occupied by diuers, . . . or because he found it best agreed with his matter and with the time, or because he had a desire (as most men haue) to enrich their owne language with such writings as may make it in more account with other nations: but the first of these was the true cause indeed, for when *Bembo* would haue dissuaded him from writing Italian, alledging that he should winne more praise by writing Latine, his answer

¹ Frank Allen Patterson and others, eds., *The Works of John Milton* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931), III, 27.

² The volume, unquestionably containing Milton's own MS marginal notes, is described in the *Columbia Milton*, XVIII, 569-70.

³ *Columbia Milton*, XVIII, 336.

⁴ *Columbia Milton*, III, 236.

⁵ I have used the 1634 edition, but this has only slight textual differences from the editions of 1591 and 1607; none is significant.

was, that he had rather be one of the principall and chiefe Tuscan writers, then scarce the second or third among the Latines . . . (pp. 416-417).

The similarities are obvious: the desire to enrich their own languages, the Bembo-Ariosto anecdote, the difficulty of arriving at even the second rank among the Latins. It may be objected that the first is a Renaissance commonplace, and that the second two are parts of a well-known story.⁶ This is true, and were it not for our certain knowledge of Milton's interest in Harington's translation no connection should be considered. But Milton's known great interest in the first English *Orlando*, and the fact that he was also "determined . . . to make some Poem" make it seem fairly certain that Harington's essay was at least in the back of his mind when he wrote of his own literary plans.

University of Minnesota

⁶ J. E. Spingarn, ed., *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908), I, 249, points out that the source of this anecdote is G. B. Pigna, *I Romanzi, ne quali della Poesia & della vita dell'Ariosto con nuovo modo si trata* (Venice, 1554), p. 73 [the correct pages are 74-5]. Pigna says: "Da questa impresa volendo il Bembo leuarlo, con dirgli che egli piu atto era allo scriuere Latino che al Volgare; & che maggiore in quello che in questo si scoprirebbe; dissegli all'incontro l'Ariosto che piu tosto volea essere uno de prima tra scrittori Thoscani, che appena il secondo tra Latino: soggiungen-dogli che ben egli sentiua à che piu il suo genio il piegasse."

PIERRE HENRI TREYSSAC DE VERGY
c. 1738¹-1774

By BRUCE SUTHERLAND

The growing popularity of fiction and of memoirs, combined with open immorality in the higher ranks of society, gave rise to a type of fiction in the eighteenth century which is highly significant as a reflection of the times. Under the guise of literature a great deal of scandal made its way into print. In spite of the use of thinly veiled or fictitious names, references to individuals and events were clearly understood, and much of the appeal for the reader lay in the ease with which he recognized well known people whose private lives were presented in false or exaggerated colors.

The current taste for this ephemeral literature, which reached its peak in the late 1760's and early 1770's, made it the most marketable portion of the literary output of the day. The demand for it was so great that a class of writers developed who specialized in scandal. These writers spent their waking hours in the coffee-houses, at the theatres, the promenades and the routs in search of anecdotes and intrigues which might be turned to advantage. The majority of them were men of little importance who catered to a limited audience. Others, however, had genuine ability. Their work was extremely popular and their fame or notoriety reached such proportions that it could not be ignored even by the literary great. Voltaire recognized the trend and lamented the tendency for men of letters to prostitute their art, insolently to outrage respectable persons merely for the sake of money. He admitted, however, that, short of repressing literature itself, it would be difficult to prevent the publication of the infamous and fictitious memoirs which were appearing both in England and in France.²

Voltaire was referring to one writer in particular when he expressed his indignation against "infamous memoirs." The object of his contempt was Pierre Henri Treysac de Vergy. This Frenchman

¹ *Mémoires du Chevalier D'Eon . . . d'après les matériaux authentiques déposés aux archives des affaires étrangères*, par Frédéric Gaillardet, 2 vols. (Paris, 1836), II, 49. In explaining his reason for joining the D'Eon conspiracy in July, 1763, De Vergy remarked, "A vingt-cinq ans, l'estomac est une des parties intégrantes de la conscience."

² *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire*, Nouvelle édition (Paris, 1818). Lettre à M. le comte d'Argental, 8 juillet 1772, vol. 37, p. 599. Lettre à M. le Marechal duc de Richelieu, 13 juillet 1772, vol. 37, p. 601.

was an adventurer, spy, scandalmonger, pamphleteer and novelist who appeared on the London scene in 1763, flourished for a decade, died and was soon forgotten. His novels, however, retained their popularity and for a number of years continued to be published throughout England and Ireland. De Vergy was typical of the muck-raking movement in eighteenth-century literature, yet there is a French adroitness and rapidity about his work which differentiates it from the plodding English product.³ He was a sensationalist and a libertine whose amoral philosophy is expressed with such sprightliness and vigor and is so indicative of the popular taste of the day that his life and his writings are of interest to the student of literature.

The life of Monsieur De Vergy must be pieced together from many sources. Since none of them is free from prejudice, it is impossible to do more than present the few facts which are available, link them together, and try to evaluate them.

The English public first became aware of De Vergy's existence when there was rumor of high words at a nobleman's house on Great George Street, on Wednesday, October 26, 1763. The rumored quarrel was an actuality which had its roots deep in a political intrigue that shocked and delighted London for many months to come.

Late in August, 1763, a tall, lean young Frenchman who called himself Pierre Henri Treyssac de Vergy, appeared at the French Embassy in London. In charge of the Embassy since April 17, 1763, was the Chevalier D'Eon de Beaumont, secret agent extraordinary for Louis XV of France. The insolent and overbearing young stranger introduced himself as a man of letters who had come to England to make an informal study of the country and its people. He had no credentials but he insisted that he was well known in Paris and at Versailles and he claimed acquaintance with a number of French notables.⁴ Monsieur D'Eon was frankly sceptical of the young man's pretensions and refused to accept him at the Embassy. Some days later De Vergy paid D'Eon a second visit and again was turned away for lack of proper identification. This time D'Eon presumably took steps to discover something about the antecedents of his persistent visitor, and he is supposed to have received extremely unfavorable reports about De Vergy from Paris. These reports described the young man as an adventurer of doubtful reputation who

³ J. M. S. Tompkins, *The Popular Novel in England, 1770-1800* (London: Constable, 1932), pp. 24-26.

⁴ *Mémoires du Chevalier D'Eon*, I, 318. The Duc de Choiseul, Duc de Praslin, Comte d'Argental, M. de Sainte-Foy, Comte de Guerchy, Madame de Villeroi and Madame de Lirrè.

was head over heels in debt and who was given to the practice of imposing upon people, under assumed names.⁵

Meanwhile a new French ambassador had been appointed to England, and on October 17, 1763, the Comte de Guerchy arrived in London to assume his new position. D'Eon had been in full charge of the Embassy since the recall of the Duc de Nivernois, and he hated to relinquish the power which he had come to consider his own. There was jealousy and ill feeling between the new ambassador and the man whom he was to displace, an ill feeling which went deeper than anyone suspected at the time. This antagonism was openly displayed before many witnesses on Sunday, October 23, 1763, at the home of the Comte de Guerchy. De Vergy, who was present, was the immediate cause⁶ and it was upon him that D'Eon vented the full force of his wrath. The sequel to this quarrel was that three days later De Vergy called at the residence of the Chevalier D'Eon on Dover Street and left a formal challenge to a duel.

The next episode in this rapidly moving drama was the intervention of the English authorities, presumably at the instigation of the Comte de Guerchy. On the same day that De Vergy delivered his challenge, D'Eon was invited to the home of George Montagu Dunk, second Earl of Halifax. Here, in the presence of the Comte de Guerchy, Lord Sandwich and other witnesses, he was compelled to sign a pledge under threat of force that he would keep the peace and neither fight nor insult Monsieur De Vergy.⁷ However, on the following day De Vergy appeared at D'Eon's home still intent upon a duel. The scene which ensued, as described by D'Eon, is not flattering to his opponent. De Vergy apparently had no heart for physical violence, was easily intimidated by the Chevalier and, under pressure, signed a statement that he would either produce the proper credentials or admit himself to be an adventurer.⁸ All thought of the duel

⁵ *D'Eon de Beaumont: his life and times . . .*, by Octave Homberg and Fernand Jousselein. Tr. by Alfred Rieu (Boston: The Gorham Press, n. d.), p. 84.

⁶ *Letters of Horace Walpole*, ed. Peter Cunningham, 9 vols. (London, 1857). Letter to Sir Horace Mann, December 12, 1763, vol. IV, p. 148. D'Eon's "madness first broke out upon one Vergy, an adventurer, whose soul he threatened to put into a certain vessel and make him drink it."

⁷ *Mémoires du Chevalier D'Eon*, I, 330. "Le chevalier d'Eon donne sa parole d'honneur aux comtes de Sandwich et Halifax qu'il ne veut point se battre avec M. de Vergy, ni lui faire aucune insulte, sans avoir préalablement communiqué ses intentions aus sudsits aucunes mauvaises suites des intentions et de la conduite de M. le chevalier d'Eon."

⁸ *Mémoires du Chevalier D'Eon*, I, 332. "Je soussigné promets sur parole d'honneur au chevalier D'Eon, capitaine de dragons, d'apporter, d'ici à quinze jours ou dans un mois au plus tard, à l'ambassadeur de France à Londres, de bonnes lettres de recommandation de personnes bien connues, ou en place à Versailles on à Paris. Sinon, je donne encore ma parole d'honneur à M. D'Eon, que je ne me présenterai plus à l'avenir devant son excellence M. le comte et Mme la comtesse de Guerchy, que comme un aventurier très grand et de plus grands."

Signé, de Vergy

which had prompted the visit seemed to have vanished and as soon as De Vergy was permitted to quit D'Eon's residence he turned to the law for satisfaction. Before Justice Kynaston he made a deposition against the Chevalier D'Eon and as a result D'Eon was summoned to appear in Bow Street by six o'clock in the evening, Thursday, October 27th.⁹

This summons was ignored by D'Eon, and since both the sword and the law had failed to give De Vergy satisfaction he turned to his pen. On the 16th of November, 1763, De Vergy published a pamphlet entitled *Lettre a M. de la M***, Ecuyer*, in which he presented his version of the affair between himself and the Chevalier D'Eon. This likewise failed in its purpose because D'Eon had also published an account of the quarrel and the general opinion was that "greater credit ought to be paid to the relation of a man of unblemished honour, than to the narrative of an unknown adventurer."¹⁰ This marked the end of De Vergy's quarrel with D'Eon.

The termination of this quarrel did not end De Vergy's adventures. They entered a new phase when he attempted to blackmail the Comte de Guerchy. Unless he was paid the sum of eighty guineas and granted some additional favors as the price for his silence,¹¹ De Vergy threatened to reveal a plot against D'Eon's life in which the French ambassador was supposedly involved. He was motivated by his need for money. He owed his landlord for food and lodging from the time of his arrival in England and he had no way of meeting this obligation. When De Guerchy refused to submit to his demands, De Vergy's situation was desperate. In late November or early December, 1763, he was sent to an English prison for failure to pay his debts.

While in prison De Vergy transferred his enmity from D'Eon to De Guerchy. His own account of this change of heart is the only one available.¹² Embittered by his treatment at the hands of De Guerchy, he determined to reveal the details of a conspiracy against the life of

⁹ *The Strange Career of the Chevalier D'Eon de Beaumont*, by Captain J. Buchan Telfer, R. N. (London: Longmans, 1885). "Mr. Kynaston, Justice of the Peace, presents his compliments to the Chevalier D'Eon, and has to inform him that M. de Vergy has sworn information against him for wishing to break the peace. Mr. Kynaston therefore requests that M. D'Eon will appear before him at six o'clock precisely, this evening, at Sir John Fielding's, Bow Street, Covent Garden, to answer the charge of the said M. de Vergy." Bow Street, Covent Garden, October 27, 1763. [Quoted by Telfer, p. 118.]

¹⁰ *A Letter to his Excellency Claude, Francois, Louis Regnier, Count de Guerchy* . . . (London: Dixwell, 1763). *Monthly Review*, January, 1764, vol. 30, p. 79.

¹¹ Telfer, *op. cit.*, p. 169. From *Public Record Office, France Correspondence*.

¹² *Mémoires du Chevalier D'Eon*, II, 45-52. *Lettre à Monseigneur le duc de Choiseul* (Liege, 1764).

D'Eon. Soon after his imprisonment he wrote a letter in which he attacked De Guerchy and defended the Chevalier D'Eon. This pamphlet, the *Lettre aux Français*, dated December 16, 1763, was taken from the printer at the behest of De Guerchy and by order of M. Norton and Chief Justice Mansfield.¹³ As a punishment De Vergy was transferred to Newgate Prison where he was confined with thieves and murderers. For ten months he languished in prison, until his pleas were heard by his parents and friends in France and his release was procured.

After regaining his freedom, De Vergy appeared at D'Eon's home in September, 1764. Ostensibly he was inspired only by a desire to make amends for his previous conduct, but Walpole's interpretation of his motives is more realistic. "This madman [D'Eon]," he wrote, "has transmuted his old enemy De Vergy into an ally. The latter having been ten months in prison for debt, has been redeemed by D'Eon."¹⁴ Walpole believed, as did many others, that it was gratitude for this redemption which brought about the alliance between the two former enemies. At this meeting De Vergy is supposed to have produced the missing credentials, but since D'Eon is the only person who claimed to have seen them, their existence is questionable. Here, too, the story of De Vergy's life was evolved and the account of the De Guerchy conspiracy against D'Eon was pieced together.¹⁵

According to De Vergy's own story he was a young man of good family, who had served in the French Guards and who was an "avocat au parlement de Bordeaux." He was also the son-in-law of the Baroness Fagan, whose second husband was Monsieur Letourneur, former First Commissioner of War at Versailles. After dissipating his wife's dowry and his own patrimony, De Vergy became a man of letters. For a while he was successful but luck soon deserted him and it became necessary for him to seek a patron. Fortunately he had written a brochure, *Les Usages* (1762) [qui souleva contre moi les trois quarts des sots et des femmes galantes de Paris], and through this work he became acquainted with the Duc d'Argental. This in turn led to an association with Madame de Villeroy, the Duc de Praslin and the Comte de Guerchy. The conspiracy against D'Eon was organized in France by this coterie.

The purpose of the plot was to oust D'Eon from the Embassy in London. De Vergy was promised as his reward the position of

¹³ Apparently it was published sometime later under the original date.

¹⁴ *Walpole's Letters*, IV, 292. Letter to Sir Horace Mann, November 15, 1764.

¹⁵ *Mémoires du Chevalier D'Eon*, II, 45-52. *Lettre à Monseigneur le duc de Choiseul*.

"secrétaire au ambassade" in place of D'Eon. Accordingly he preceded his chief, De Guerchy, to London and staged the two scenes at the French Embassy. After De Guerchy's arrival, other attempts to eliminate D'Eon were made, including one at poisoning, but all failed. Thereupon De Guerchy took advantage of DeVergy's impecunious state and tried to force him to assassinate D'Eon by offering "une bourse d'une main, mais un poignard de l'autre." De Vergy, preferring prison to this dishonor, went to jail for debt. Walpole made short shrift of this confession, terming it a "French *North Briton*," a "legend . . . so ill put together that, on the face of it, it confutes itself."¹⁶

Not content to rest on the sensational effect produced by his written confession, De Vergy again had recourse to law. On November 12th, 1764, he made an affidavit at the King's Bench before Justice Wilmot, in which he swore that he had been ordered by the Comte de Guerchy to assassinate D'Eon. This was followed by another affidavit sworn before Justice Yates of the King's Bench on November 27th, 1764, which reiterated the earlier accusation. Furthermore De Vergy defied the French Ambassador to have him convicted for making false statements.¹⁷

The Comte de Guerchy complained bitterly to the English Ministers of this continued persecution but De Vergy was not prevented from filing still another affidavit in the early part of 1765, this time before the Grand Jury of Middlesex. This deposition led to an indictment for intended murder against the French Ambassador.¹⁸ The indictment was founded on the oaths of four witnesses, namely, De Vergy, Kirwan, Du Pre and Brillard. The intervention of the King of England was invoked to prevent the indictment from com-

¹⁶ *Walpole's Letters*, IV, 292.

¹⁷ Telfer, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-74. Quoted by Telfer from *Public Record Office, France Correspondence*. A letter from De Vergy to the Duc de Choiseul, November 15, 1764. "Last Monday [Nov. 12, 1764] I made an affidavit at the King's Bench against M. de Guerchy, and proved by his words and certain circumstances to which I swore, that he ordered me to assassinate M. D'Eon, assuring me that the opium he had caused to be given to him at dinner, on Friday, October 28th [1763], had had no effect. This circumstance was made known at the time of M. D'Eon's complaint to his Excellency himself, that he had been poisoned at his table. In meeting this charge by saying that I am mad, M. de Guerchy condemns himself, and if I am flattered at the compliment, believe, sir, in my regret at not being able to return it. I show myself in London publicly. I am to be seen everywhere, at the promenades, at the play, in coffee-houses; yet M. de Guerchy does not sue me before the law. Do you know, sir, the reason why? Because by the law of retaliation and English Justice, M. de Guerchy not having it by any means in his power to convict me of making false statements, would have the honour of being sent to the pillory and transported, were he to accuse me of perjury."

¹⁸ *The Works of Lord Chesterfield* (N. Y.: Harper, n.d.), p. 587. Letter No. 387, dated London, April 22, 1765.

ing before the Petty Jury. George the Third granted a *noli prosequi* which not only stopped all proceedings against the Comte de Guerchy but also served as the basis for an indictment against De Vergy and his associates for conspiracy.¹⁹ The Attorney General actually began the prosecution of De Vergy but nothing came of it. The Comte de Guerchy was recalled to France later in the year and died in Paris, September 17, 1767. The "affaire de Guerchy" had come to an end.²⁰

Contemporary accounts are unanimous in proclaiming De Vergy an adventurer. Voltaire spoke of him as a madman and a low monster whose impertinences were to be expected since he was one of those people who believed himself to be somebody simply because he had learned to read and write, when as a matter of fact the condition of an honest lackey was infinitely superior to his own.²¹ Walpole insisted that De Vergy was an unprincipled spy who was willing to sell his services to the highest bidder.²² Reviewers in the *Monthly Review*, the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *Critical Review* are consistent in their references to De Vergy as an adventurer and a poseur. In every case he is mentioned, not as a young man of good family who had sunk in the social scale, but as a rank outsider. Yet it has also been stated that his wife in Bordeaux was a woman in easy circumstances.²³

Circumstantial evidence indicates that De Vergy was a young adventurer from Bordeaux with no important connections in his homeland, who had been sent to England as part of a poorly conceived plot against the Chevalier D'Eon. The intricacies of this conspiracy have never been publicly revealed. Contemporary opinion was divided. Lord Chesterfield, who refused to divulge his personal opinion, expressed the general feeling of uncertainty when he coarsely summed up the matter, "il y a de la merde au bout du bâton, quelque part?"²⁴

The end of the "affaire de Guerchy" found De Vergy still in London. Perhaps he dared not return to France but it is also logical

¹⁹ *The Correspondence of King George the Third*, ed. Sir John Fortesque, 6 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1927), I, 70-71. No. 44, Lord Sandwich to the King.

²⁰ *The Public Record Office, France Correspondence*, and the *Archives du département des affaires étrangères, Correspondence politique* [No. 451, Août-Octobre, 1763, "Affaire D'Eon et De Vergy"], contain many documents concerning the political angles of the De Guerchy controversy.

²¹ Voltaire, *op. cit.*, vol. 35, p. 430.

²² Horace Walpole, *Memoirs of the Reign of King George the Third*, ed. G. F. R. Barker, 4 vols. (1894), I, 242, note 1. "This Vergy was a French spy. In 1771, I heard Mr. Phelps, secretary to Lord Sandwich, relate that Vergy had offered him to act, too, as a spy on Guerchy, of which Mr. Phelps gave the ambassador warning. Vergy remained here several years, and wrote pamphlets and novels for a livelihood."

²³ Telfer, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

²⁴ Chesterfield, *op. cit.*, p. 587.

to assume that he preferred to remain in London where he could bask in the hot sun of his own notoriety. How he supported himself during the next few years is not known. He may have depended upon the patronage of D'Eon, but the Chevalier was having financial difficulties of his own. De Vergy may have eked out an existence by writing for some of the noisome and disreputable periodicals which were then flourishing in London. Whatever he was doing it was a preparation for the volumes of fiction that he was to publish between 1769 and 1772. His only known work between 1765 and 1769 is a philosophical treatise in English, *A Letter Against Reason* (1767), which was addressed to the Chevalier D'Eon. This "half crown's worth of reasoning against the use of reason" is in imitation of Rousseau and is important primarily because it helps to explain the origin of the garbled philosophy which was later to appear in the novels.

De Vergy's first novel was published in 1769. This novel, the three-volume *Mistakes of the Heart*,²⁵ was a cautious and tactful bid for the approval of the English public. The work is dedicated to Rousseau and the author excuses himself for "faults against Language," since he is a foreigner. The reviewer in the *Monthly Review* was kindly disposed toward the first volume of this novel and speaks well of the "sprightly Frenchman," imitator of Richardson and of "Richardson's imitator," Rousseau, who for a foreigner succeeded in expressing himself extremely well in the English language. The reviewer's one objection was to "the libertinism which too much prevails in the work," but otherwise it was well received.

In this first attempt at fiction De Vergy purports to be merely the editor of the "memoirs" which are the basis of this epistolary novel. It is obvious, however, that the work is based on a formula which could have come only from De Vergy himself. Throughout this novel and many of the succeeding ones there is compounded a mixture of Richardson's sentiment, Rousseau's philosophy of nature and De Vergy's licentiousness. Here also may be found certain of De Vergy's basic prejudices. He is scornful of the artificialities of society, indignant at the inequalities which this society has raised between men and women, ill-humored in his attitude toward aristocracy and the ruling class, and lavish in his praise for English justice.

The novel is a loosely connected series of letters between two young ladies, Lady Victoria Nevil of Brenton Hall, Cumberland, and Lady Carolina Pelham of Pelham Hall, London. There are in-

²⁵ *The Mistakes of the Heart: or, Memoirs of Lady Carolina Pelham and Lady Victoria Nevil*. . . [3 vols. in 1] (Dublin: Printed for James Potts, and Thomas Walker, Booksellers, in Damestreet, 1770).

cluded also a few letters from Sir John Modish to Lord Frederick Pelham, Carolina's brother. Lord Pelham's answers are omitted by the "editor" since they are "so unmercifully virtuous, they would have yawned the fair and gay into as sound a nap as the journals of Pamela Andrews to her dear Father and Mother."

The problems of love and marriage form the basis of all the letters and give the author an opportunity to air his unlimited knowledge of the subject. The plot is involved but pointless. It is not what the characters do but what they think that makes the story readable. There is a great deal of frivolity and nonsense presented seriously in the various letters but there is also an undercurrent of shrewd common sense. The contemporary appeal of the novel is understandable. Its approach to love and marriage was designed to cater to popular sentiment, and, without offending the sentimental, De Vergy was able to experiment with his theories of love and nature so successfully that he seems to have found the key to the heart of his public.

The second novel to be published, *The Lovers* (1769),²⁶ was De Vergy's most popular work and is his most notorious contribution to the scandal literature of the day. The book was reviewed contemptuously and indignantly by the better journals, yet it was widely read throughout England and it became so popular that De Vergy frequently advertised himself in later novels as the author of *The Lovers*.

The "libertinism" in this novel is objectionable. It is obvious and has no excuse for being. It contributes neither to the artistry of the work nor to the development of the story and must therefore be considered simply as a lure for a certain class of reader. The main contemporary objection to the novel was that it was "a series of forged letters written in the names and characters of several persons of distinction," letters supposed to have been found between Holland House and Northumberland House and published by the finder.

The scandal which permitted De Vergy to exercise his peculiar talents in this novel was the elopement of Lady Sarah Bunbury with her cousin Lord William Gordon.²⁷ The public interest aroused by this elopement was tremendous. London coffee-houses were alive with gossip, yet De Vergy was the only writer to fictionalize the

²⁶ *The Lovers; or, Memoirs of Lady Sarah B*** and the Countess of P**** (London: Roson, 1769).

²⁷ For a true account of this unfortunate episode see: *The Life and Letters of Lady Sarah Lennox, 1745-1826 . . .*, ed. by the Countess of Ilchester and Lord Stavordale, 2 vols. (London: Murray, 1902). *Memoirs on the events attending the Death of George II and the Accession of George III*, by Henry Fox, First Lord Holland, I, 26-27.

scandal successfully.²⁸ He knew nothing about the intimate details of the affair. Lady Sarah's letters to her friend, Lady Susan Fox Strangeways, which probably contained the true account, were destroyed for the period from June, 1768, to June, 1775, and the scandal was not publicized in print out of deference, perhaps, for Lady Sarah's social position. Lack of factual information did not deter De Vergy. Using those items of gossip which were common knowledge and filling in the gaps from his fertile imagination, he published his own version of Lady Sarah's love life.

Although the Lady Sarah B*** of the novel has little in common with the original, De Vergy has created a spirited character. His interpretation of her emotional struggle is sympathetic and understanding. She is pictured as a woman torn between loyalty to a devoted husband and passion for her lover. When passion triumphs she makes no attempt to hide it. The remaining characters in the novel are necessary to the story but unimportant in themselves. Countess Jenny is Lady Sarah's confidante. She indulges in a sordid intrigue with young Captain F*** and is intended to be typical of the idle young matrons of her class. Sir Charles is made ineffectual and pathetic and is completely overshadowed by his wife. The author's handling of the character of Lord William is libellous and indicates that he knew nothing of the personality of the real Lord Gordon. Lady Holland, Sarah's sister, is depicted as a Cerberian creature who acts as the jailor of Holland House. The Prince of Wales is brought into the story by inference, for De Vergy makes capital of the open secret that George the Third, when Prince, was a suitor of Lady Sarah.

The Lovers obviously was written to cater to the popular interest in Lady Bunbury's elopement. Since her action coincided with De Vergy's philosophy, he used the story as a vehicle for the expression of his own ideas. It is a tiresome novel which is saved from worthlessness only by the personality of Lady Sarah, but that it did not "yawn the fair and gay" is evidenced by its popularity. Emboldened by the success of *The Lovers*, De Vergy became even more daringly lewd in his next novel, *Nature* (1770). This work was curtly dismissed by the reviewer in the *Monthly Review* as "a licentious performance, fitted to inflame the passions, to desecrate virtue, and to serve as a *pander* to the mind of an amorous reader," and it does not seem to have been popular even with De Vergy's public.

²⁸ *The Unhappy Wife. By a Lady* (1770), was based on the same scandal but never achieved the popularity of *The Lovers*. *Rose of the Garden*, by Katherine (Tynan) Hinkson (London: Constable, 1912), is a more modern version of the story of Lady Sarah Lennox. *Monthly Review*, May, 1770, XLII, 489.

As a result of this failure De Vergy changed his method of approach. In *Henrietta, Countess Osenvor* (1770)²⁹ he announced that while Love and Nature had been the authors of his earlier work, "Henrietta, Virtue has written." There is no lewdness or viciousness to be censured in this sentimental novel but neither is there anything to be praised.

The work is epistolary in form only, and its weak plot is built around the conflict between Henrietta and her domineering mother. This gives rise to a great deal of discussion of virtuous love as opposed to worldly experience, and since De Vergy is now on the side of virtue, Henrietta triumphs only to lose her lover in the end. Pure sentiment was not De Vergy's forte, and the judgment of the contemporary reviewer who dismissed the novel by saying, "Readers advanced in life may peruse it without pleasure or disgust; and those of younger years will run it over without entertainment or instruction," may be accepted as a just criticism.

The remaining novels are not obtainable in America but their importance may be estimated by following the contemporary reviews. The first of this group is *The Scotchman* (1770). This novel was intended to be a satire on the Scotch but it developed into a picaresque tale. McIntosh, the rascally hero, is a lascivious, agreeable, overreaching, deceitful scoundrel like many another picaresque hero, of whom the reviewer says significantly, "We do not perceive that any known character is aimed at in this performance."

The Scotchman was followed by an apologia, *A Defense of His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland* (1770). The author's thesis is that some people are carried away by a fierce passion which makes them overstep the bounds set by society, while others, through the weakness of their desires, remain within the confines of conventional morality. De Vergy's sympathy lay with the former, since he believed that certain conduct is ordered by nature and forbidden only by opinion, and that nature should be the final guide. The reviewers objected to this "sophistry." The work was termed a "eulogium of adultery" and was considered an apology "rather for vice than for the Duke." Nevertheless, it expresses, even more clearly than the novels, De Vergy's personal attitude toward the existing moral code.

The Defense of the Duke of Cumberland was unsigned as were the next two novels attributed to De Vergy by contemporary reviews. The *Authentic Memoirs of the Countess de Barré* (1771) aroused such a splutter of indignation among the reviewers that they

²⁹ *Henrietta, Countess Osenvor. A sentimental novel in a series of letters to Lady Susannah Fitzroy. . . .* In two volumes (London: Printed for Harrison & Col., No. 18 Paternoster Row, 1785).

forgot the book in their haste to castigate the writer. The *Monthly Review* was content to call it, "Another heap of rubbish, swept out of Mons. de Vergy's garret," and regretted that the Chevalier so grossly misapplied his talents since he was capable of better things. *The Critical Review* went much further and devoted a whole page to an attack on De Vergy as a debaucher and seducer of public morals, which ended with a warning to parents and guardians that the works of this "abandoned Frenchman" should not be received into their families.³⁰ *The Nun* (1771) was an attack on Popery, and its scenes of "lewdness and complicated wickedness" did not help De Vergy's reputation among the better class of readers.

The realization that he had offended his public apparently was responsible for the reversal in his next novel, *The Palinode; or, The Triumph of Virtue over Love* (1771). As a study of the "characters and manners of some of the most celebrated beauties in England," it was hailed as the most "decent" novel to have come from De Vergy's pen, and the author was praised for his proficiency in the study of the female mind. His reformation was short-lived however, for within a few months he had relapsed into his old style and had added another volume to his first novel.

The Mistakes of the Heart, vol. IV (1771), was not successful. It was referred to as "the mistakes of the pen," "a preposterous exhibition of high life in buckram," and De Vergy was accused of having picked up all he knew about the gentry from the coffee-house conversation of some of the "bucks of quality." Undeterred by this failure, De Vergy made one last effort to bolster up his waning appeal.

The Lovers, vol. II (1772), is an obvious attempt to play upon the popularity of the earlier novel by the same name. It is not a sequel to the first volume but, like its predecessor, it treats of a current scandal. This "vile effusion from De Vergy's dissolute pen" was to appear in two volumes but the final part was never printed. As a consequence the work is incomplete. It is based on the intrigue between Lady Mary Sc*** and Captain Suth*** which was then the talk of London. The reviewer scathingly dismisses both the purveyor and the principals of this particular scandal when he remarks, "While our people of fashion continue to furnish subjects for these scandalous chronicles, they will never want such respectable historians as the present writer, to record their worthy deeds, and transmit their fame to posterity." Apparently discouraged by the novel's poor reception, which was caused by the ineptness with which it was written and by the waning popularity of scandal literature, De Vergy discontinued the writing of novels.

³⁰ *Critical Review*, December, 1770, XIII, 488.

Reviewed almost simultaneously with this volume of *The Lovers* was *Memoirs of an Hermaphrodite* (1772). These pretended memoirs of the Chevalier D'Eon, based on the mystery concerning his sex, were attributed to De Vergy on the strength of his earlier association with the Chevalier.

Mention must be made of one more work which, although not written by De Vergy, was attributed to him at the time. *Lettres de Madame la Marquise de Pompadour* was published in London in 1771 both in English and in French. These letters were fictitious and so cleverly were they written that no one did more than hazard a guess as to the real author. It was Voltaire who, on the authority of "some well informed people," attributed the work to De Vergy.³¹ It was not intended as a compliment, yet it indicates the extent of De Vergy's reputation as a writer of fictitious memoirs.

The literary career of Pierre Henri Treysac de Vergy came to a close in 1772, although he lived for two more years. He died on October 1, 1774, at his lodgings near Blackheath. His will, dated July 21, 1774, and proved at Doctor's Commons, on October 10, 1774, reaffirms the truth of the statements he had made ten years before concerning the De Guerchy-D'Eon controversy. De Vergy's body, enclosed in a leaden coffin, was kept at the undertaker's in Church Street, St. Ann, until March, 1775, when it was interred at St. Pancras. Although he had expressed the wish that his remains should be removed to the family vault at Bordeaux his widow persisted in refusing to supply the necessary funds.³²

De Vergy's literary work must be judged in the light of the age which produced it. He was a popular novelist who followed the current taste in literature, and his dedication of books "to pleasure and virtue in a ratio of two to one" is an indication that he tried to keep his finger on the public pulse. Even his worst enemies among the critics admitted that some of his writings had literary merit, and it is a mistake to assume that he was merely a clever hack who catered to the circulating libraries of the day. De Vergy had certain convictions of his own, and the licentiousness for which he was so roundly censured sprang as much from his own personal attitude toward the moral code as from his desire to write marketable novels.

Pennsylvania State College

³¹ *Lettres de Madame la Marquise de Pompadour, depuis 1753 jusqu'à 1762 inclusivement*. . . , 2 vols. (Londres: G. Owen, 1771). Attributed by BN to Francois, Marquis de Barbe-Marbois, and Claude Prosper Jolyot de Crebillon. Voltaire, *op. cit.*, Vol. 37, p. 599. Lettre à M. le Comte d'Argental, 8 juillet 1772.

³² *Monthly Review*, February, 1776, p. 162. Telfer, *op. cit.*, p. 193. Among the witnesses was the Chevalier D'Eon. See also *Gentleman's Magazine*, October, 1774, Vol. 44, pp. 494-5.

THE WORKS
OF
PIERRE HENRI TREYSSAC DE VERGY

- Les Usages*. 2 vols. [Paris?, 1762]. Mentioned in *Mémoires du Chevalier D'Eon* (Paris, 1836), II, 47.
- Lettre à M. de la M***, Ecuyer, et de la Société Royale d'Agriculture, par M. Treyssac de Vergy: en réponse à une lettre de Monsieur le Duc de Nivernois* (Londres: Becket, 16 Novembre 1763). Reviewed in the *Monthly Review*, January, 1764, vol. 30, p. 79.
- Lettre aux Français, par M. Treyssac de Vergy, en réponse à une Note Contre-Note . . . et servant à la justification de M. D'Eon* (Londres: 16 Decembre 1763). Mentioned in *Mémoires de Chevalier D'Eon*, II, 51, and in *The Strange Career of the Chevalier D'Eon de Beaumont* by J. B. Telfer (London, 1885), pp. 167-8.
- Lettre à Monseigneur le duc de Choiseul* (Liege, 1764). Mentioned in *La Grande Encyclopédie*, vol. 16, p. 4, col. 2.
- Seconde Lettre à Monseigneur le duc de Choiseul, Ministre et Secrétaire d'Etat en France: par M. Treyssac de Vergy, Avocat au Parlement de Bordeaux* (Londres, 1764). Mentioned in *The Strange Career of the Chevalier D'Eon de Beaumont*, p. 169.
- A Letter Against Reason, addressed to the Chevalier D'Eon. By M. Treysac de Vergy. Printed for the author, at Mr. Taylors, Queen Street, Golden Square* [London, 1767]. Reviewed in the *Monthly Review*, May, 1767, vol. 36, p. 400.
- The Mistakes of the Heart; or, Memoirs of Lady Carolina Pelham, and Lady Victoria Nevil. In a series of Letters, published by M. Treyssac de Vergy, Councillor in the Parliament of Paris and Bordeaux*. 3 vols. [London]: Murdoch, [1769]. Volume I reviewed in the *Monthly Review*, June, 1769, vol. 40, p. 511.
- The Lovers; or, Memoirs of Lady Sarah B*** and the Countess of P***. Published by Mr. Treyssac de Vergy, Councillor of the Parliament of Paris*. [London]: Roson, 1769. Reviewed in the *Monthly Review*, December, 1769, vol. 41, p. 480.
- Henrietta, Countess Osenvor; a sentimental novel, in a series of Letters. By Mr. Treyssac de Vergy, Councillor in the Parliament of Paris, and editor of The Lovers*. 2 vols. [London]: Roson, [1770]. Reviewed in the *Monthly Review*, June, 1770, vol. 42, p. 488.
- The Scotchman; or, the world as it goes; a Novel, by the Chevalier Treyssac de Vergy*. 2 vols. [London]: Brough, [1770]. Reviewed in the *Monthly Review*, July, 1770, vol. 43, p. 66.
- The Palinode; or, The Triumph of Virtue over Love. A sentimental novel. In which are painted to the life the Characters and Manners of some of the most celebrated Beauties in England. By M. Treyssac de Vergy*. 2 vols. [London]: Woodfall and Evans, 1771. Reviewed in the *Monthly Review*, July, 1771, vol. 45, p. 73.
- The Mistakes of the Heart. Volume IV and Last*. [London]: Shatwell, 1771. Reviewed in the *Monthly Review*, February, 1772, vol. 46, p. 164.

- The Lovers; or, the Memoirs of Lady Mary Sc*** and the Hon. Miss Amelia B***. Vol. II. Printed for the Editor and sold by The Booksellers.* [London], 1772. Mentioned in the *Monthly Review*, March, 1772, vol. 46, p. 263.

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- Nature; or, The School for Demi-Repts. A Novel. In a series of Letters.* [London]: Murdoch, [1770]. Attributed to De Vergy in *Watts Bibliotheca Britannica* (1824), vol. 1, col. 301c. Mentioned in the *Monthly Review*, March, 1770, vol. 42, p. 250.
- A Defense of His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland. By a Member of Parliament.* [London]: Evans, 1770. Attributed to De Vergy by *Watts Bibliotheca Britannica* (1824), vol. 1, col. 301c. Reviewed in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, September, 1770, vol. 40, p. 431, and the *Monthly Review*, September, 1770, vol. 43, p. 236.
- Authentic Memoirs of the Countess de Barré, the French King's Mistress, carefully collated from a Manuscript in the Possession of the Duchess of Villeroy. By Sir Francis N***.* [London]: Roson, 1771. "Another heap of rubbish, swept out of Mons. de Vergy's garret," *Monthly Review*, 1771, vol. 44, p. 92. See also the *Critical Review*, December, 1770, vol. 13, p. 488.
- The Nun; or, The Adventures of the Marchioness of Beauville.* [London]: Roson, [1771]. Attributed to De Vergy by "suspicious reviewers," Baker, vol. 5, p. 149. Mentioned in the *Monthly Review*, 1771, vol. 44, p. 262.
- Memoirs of an Hermaphrodite. Inscribed to the Chevalier D'Eon.* [London]: Roson, [1772]. "It is, possibly, the work of his old friend and countryman, the Chevalier de V*** . . ." *Monthly Review*, March, 1772, vol. 46, p. 265.

KEATS'S "SICKLY IMAGINATION AND SICK PRIDE"

By H. E. BRIGGS

One of the most important products of Keats's walking tour of Scotland is his "Sonnet on Visiting the Tomb of Burns." This, in recent years, has been widely misinterpreted, with the result that a mistaken view of the meaning of his experiences has become current. In the form in which it appears in Keats's letter of June 29, 1818, to his brother Tom, the sonnet reads:

The Town, the churchyard, and the setting sun,
The Clouds, the trees, the rounded hills all seem
Though beautiful, cold—strange—as in a dream,
I dreamed long ago, now new begun
The short-liv'd, paly Summer is but won
From Winter's ague, for one hour's gleam;
Though sapphire-warm, their stars do never beam,
All is cold Beauty; pain is never done
For who has mind to relish Minos-wise,
The Real of Beauty, free from that dead hue
Sickly imagination and sick pride
[Cast] wan upon it! Burns! with honor due
I have oft honour'd thee. Great shadow; hide
Thy face, I sin against thy native skies.

The crux is the phrase "sickly imagination and sick pride." This is currently regarded as Keats's disparaging characterization of himself.¹ The fact is, however, that he was referring not to himself but to the Scotch people. Almost immediately after writing the sonnet Keats added, "I will endeavour to get rid of my prejudices and tell you fairly about the Scotch. . . ."² This remark is patently intended to be a comment on the poem; the sonnet, he thinks, has shown his prejudices. Five days later, in another letter to his brother, he returns to the subject. I will go on, he says,

¹ Professor E. de Selincourt says in his edition of *The Poems of John Keats* (5th ed., London, 1926), p. 546: "It is characteristic of Keats that as he stands beside the grave of Burns he is haunted by the reflections of Hamlet on the influence of the mystery of death upon the human will." De Selincourt quotes *Hamlet*, III, i, 83-85, and continues, "Such unhealthy reflections . . . clouded Keats's apprehension of the 'real of beauty.'" Professor C. L. Finney, in *The Evolution of Keats's Poetry* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), II, 412, takes the same position, holding that at this time "There was no joy in his soul" and "His imagination . . . was sickly. . . ." Perhaps the most recent writer to emphasize this point of view is Dorothy Hewlett, in *Adonais* (London, 1937?), pp. 229-30.

² Maurice Buxton Forman, ed., *The Letters of John Keats* (New York, 1935), p. 164.

to remind you of the fate of Burns. Poor unfortunate fellow—his disposition was Southern—how sad it is when a luxurious imagination is obliged in self-defence to deaden its delicacy in vulgarity. . . .³

This comment is a gloss on the sonnet. A Southern disposition, a luxurious imagination, is crushed by the "sickly imagination and sick pride" of the Scotch people. The poem itself makes the point clear. Who, Keats asks, has the wisdom of Minos, the ability to see beauty when it is covered over with a dead hue, cast wan upon it by sickly imagination and sick pride? And when he ends by apologizing to Burns's shadow ("I sin against thy native skies"), Keats is surely not using "skies" only in the prosaic sense, but poetically. I sin, he said, against your country and your people; and again, "I will endeavour to get rid of my prejudices. . . ." The two statements coincide.

It becomes important, then, to know what Keats meant specifically by saying the Scotch had a sickly imagination and sick pride. "On this stage of the walk," Sir Sidney Colvin wrote,

they [Keats and Brown] were both unpleasurably struck by the laughterless gravity and cold greetings of the people ("more serious and solidly inanimated than necessary," Brown calls them). . . .⁴

This is part of what Keats meant. The rest may be suggested by excerpts from his letters:

I know not how it is, the Clouds, the Sky, the Houses, all seem anti-Grecian and anti-Charlemagnish. . . . She [a girl in Ireland] is fair, kind and ready to laugh, because she is out of the horrible dominion of the Scotch Kirk. A Scotch Girl stands in terrible awe of the Elders—poor little Susannas—They will scarcely laugh—they are greatly to be pitied and the Kirk is greatly to be damn'd. . . they [the Scotch] are formed into regular Phalanges of savers and gainers. . . . Were the fingers made to squeeze a guinea or a white hand?—Were the Lips made to hold a pen or a Kiss? . . . I would sooner be a wild deer than a Girl under the dominion of the Kirk, and I would sooner be a wild hog than be the occasion of a Poor Creatures pennance before those execrable elders. . . . One song of Burns's is of more worth to you than all I could think for a whole year in his native country.—His Misery is a dead weight upon the nimbleness of one's quill—I tried to forget it—to drink Toddy without any Care—to write a merry Sonnet—it wont do—he talked with Bitches—he drank with blackguards, he was miserable. . . .⁵

No extended analysis of these remarks is necessary to make it clear what Keats meant by the "sickly imagination and sick pride" of the

³ Forman, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

⁴ John Keats (New York, 1917), p. 278.

⁵ Forman, *op. cit.*, pp. 164-78, *passim*.

Scotch as he saw them in 1818. Their cautious thrift, meanness, practicality, and Puritanical rigidity, their lack of spontaneity, gayety, warmth, and artistic sensitivity, chilled Keats to the bone. This is why he had no mind to relish the Real of Beauty and could not free it

from that dead hue
Sickly imagination and sick pride
[Cast] wan upon it. . . .

Keats's disposition, like Burns's, was Southern, his imagination, luxurious.

This discussion makes clear one of the frequent sources of Keats's poetic inspiration and of other poets also, namely, discomfort in the moral, thrifty, practical, and unappreciative world. Keats's sonnet is the reaction and the protest of an essentially "Southern" disposition against all that oppresses it in an unsympathetic culture. Of recent years, especially since 1921 when Professor A. C. Bradley published his paper on "Keats and Philosophy" in the *Keats Memorial Volume*, an effort has been made to show that Keats's nature was essentially thoughtful, even philosophic. There is something to be said for the view; it is now certain that Keats read more widely and studied more deeply than his critics were aware. But it is surely possible to go too far in this attempt, which M. R. Ridley, in my opinion rightly, calls "that unpromising line."⁶ The trip to Scotland was for Keats almost like a critical test arranged by a dramatist. And when Keats was face to face with the Scots, it was not his thoughtful, philosophic nature that was revealed, but his emotional, "Southern" disposition. This fact, I think, has been obscured by the misinterpretation of his lines on "Sickly imagination and sick pride."

University of Minnesota

⁶ *Keats's Craftsmanship* (Oxford, 1933), p. 5.



PAUL ERNST UND CHINA¹

Von ERNST ROSE

Paul Ernst hat sich zeitlebens eingehend mit China beschäftigt, und Gedanken über chinesische Dinge haben seine denkerische Entwicklung in einem ungewöhnlichen Maße mitbestimmt. Gewiß hat er auch über Rußland und Indien² tief nachgedacht, und ebenso kann man bei ihm Aufsätze über arabische, türkische und afrikanische Märchen finden. Aber das meiste davon ist doch mehr beiläufig gesagt, während ihn China vom Anfang seiner Laufbahn an nicht losläßt und ihn wieder und wieder zur Einkehr zwingt.

Diese Tatsache ist nicht bloß an sich interessant, sondern besitzt darüber hinaus auch noch symptomatische Bedeutung im weiteren Zusammenhang der europäischen und insbesondere der deutschen Geistesgeschichte. Paul Ernst ist einer der wichtigsten Vertreter der in unserem Jahrhundert sich vollziehenden Auseinandersetzung des Abendlandes mit der Welt des Ostens.

Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert sah in China mit völlig unkritischer Begeisterung das Vorbild eines aufgeklärten Musterstaates. Herder dagegen und die unter seinem Einfluß stehenden Romantiker lehnten dann mit der Aufklärung auch diesen aufklärerischen Geschichtsmythos ab und glaubten in China nur öde Pedanterie und langweiligen Automatismus zu finden. Als dann in den dreißiger Jahren

¹ Der obige Aufsatz beruht auf einem Vortrag des Verfassers auf der Tagung der amerikanischen Paul Ernst Gesellschaft in Boston, Mass. im Dezember 1940 (in Verbindung mit der Jahrestagung der Modern Language Association of America). Einige Tage später erreichten mich Paul Ernsts nachgelassene Aufsätze zur Weltliteratur *Völker und Zeiten im Spiegel ihrer Dichtung* (München 1940). Dort machte der Herausgeber Karl August Kutzbach auf S. 393-394 weitere wichtige Angaben über Paul Ernsts Beschäftigung mit China, die mich zu einer völligen Umarbeitung meines Vortrages veranlaßten; sie liegt nunmehr in dem obigen Aufsatz vor. In den Anmerkungen verwende ich im Anschluß an Kutzbach (386) die folgenden Abkürzungen für Paul Ernsts Werke (Alle hier genannten sind bei Georg Müller, jetzt Albert Langen/Georg Müller, München erschienen): C = *Ein Credo* (Neu-Ausgabe 1935), EG = *Erdachte Gespräche* (1931); GG = *Grundlagen der neuen Gesellschaft* (1930); PSK = *Politische Studien und Kritiken; Aufsätze Paul Ernsts aus den Jahren 1894-1902* (Jahrbuch 1938 der Paul Ernst Gesellschaft); VuZ = *Völker und Zeiten im Spiegel ihrer Dichtung* (1940); WzF = *Der Weg zur Form* (Ausgabe 1928); ZI¹ = *Der Zusammenbruch des Deutschen Idealismus. An die Jugend* (1918); ZI² = *Der Zusammenbruch des Deutschen Idealismus* (1931). Als Simon ist zitiert: *La Cité Chinoise*. Par G. Eug. Simon, ancien consul de France en Chine, ancien élève de L'institut national agronomique de Versailles. Paris: Nouvelle Revue, 1885.

² Vgl. über Paul Ernsts Beschäftigung mit Indien: Hasso Härten in *Die Neue Literatur*, XL (1939), 266-269. Ebenso VuZ 114-116, 394-395.

des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts politisch-liberale Strömungen aufkamen, wurde China gar zum lächerlichen Polizeistaat und zum Inbegriff alles verhaßten Despotentums. Die Negierung des aufklärerischen Chinabildes beherrschte fast uneingeschränkt die Literatur der Folgezeit.³

Nun kommt am Ende des Jahrhunderts wieder ein neues Bild von China auf, das sowohl mit dem überschwenglichen der Aufklärung wie mit dem verständnislosen der Romantik^{3a} und des Jungen Deutschlands wenig gemein hat. Allgemein wird China ernster genommen, allgemein werden in ihm neben rationalistischen auch mystische Züge entdeckt, allgemein wird statt von einer erstarrten lieber von einer erstaunlich wertbeständigen und darum höchst widerstandsfähigen chinesischen Kultur geredet.

Die Gründe für dieses neue Chinabild darf man nicht zu äußerlich in einer Erweiterung und Vertiefung unserer Kenntnisse suchen. Denn unsere Kenntnisse haben sich vor allem deswegen vermehrt und vertieft, weil wir China wieder stärker unsere Teilnahme zuwandten, weil wir dort etwas zu finden glaubten, das unsere eigene europäische oder amerikanische Kultur überhaupt nicht oder nicht in demselben Maße besaß.

Am Ende des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts sucht man überall in Europa nach einem Ausweg aus dem herrschenden übersteigerten Individualismus. Es ist die Zeit der sozialistischen Zukunftsutopien; es ist die Zeit, in der Friedrich Nietzsche schmerzlich nach neuen, maßgeblichen Werten sucht; es ist die Zeit, in der Stefan George seine neue Gemeinschaft sammelt. Auch der junge Paul Ernst wird als Berliner Student von dem Zug nach einer neuen Gemeinschaft ergriffen und wird ein begeisterter Verkünder sozialistischer Zukunftspläne. Aber zu seinem Glück hatte er durch sein Elternhaus und seine Schulerziehung an einer älteren, noch lebendigen Form unindividualistischer Kultur teilnehmen können,⁴ und so verlor er auch bei seinen studentischen Schwärmereien niemals den Boden unter den Füßen. Paul Ernst suchte in seinen sozialistischen Aufsätzen immer an das Vorhandene anzuknüpfen, und so entdeckte er bald die Gemeinschaftskultur des chinesischen Volkes.

Die Augen dafür wurden ihm geöffnet durch das Buch eines französischen Volkswirtschaftlers, der als Konsul in China reiche

³ Vgl. darüber meine von der Deutschen Akademie in München zum Druck angenommene Arbeit "China in der deutschen Literatur des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts."

^{3a} Anders beurteilt das Chinabild der Romantik: Elizabeth Selden, *China in German Poetry from 1773 to 1833* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1942). Vgl. dazu meine demnächst in der *Germanic Review* erscheinende Besprechung.

⁴ *WzF* 11-12.

Beobachtungen an Ort und Stelle hatte sammeln können, ohne durch angelernte Vorurteile und gelehrte Literatur zum Schaden seiner natürlichen Auffassungsgabe behindert zu sein. G. Eugène Simon konnte nicht einmal Chinesisch, und das war in seinem Falle sicher ein Glück. Denn so vermochte dieser naive Beobachter in seinem Buch *La Cité Chinoise* (1885)⁵ ganz selbständig ein wesentlich richtigeres Bild von China zu entwerfen, als selbst den meisten gelehrten Sinologen seiner Zeit möglich war. Begeistert beschreibt er die Chinesen als ein glückliches Bauernvolk, das mit einem erstaunlich geringen Aufwand an Beamten und Polizeisoldaten regiert wird⁶ und trotzdem die Kraft besitzt, fremden Eroberern zu widerstehen und sie gar zu assimilieren. Er findet hier, ganz anders als die politischen Leitartikler seines Jahrhunderts, die wahre Demokratie verwirklicht;⁷ die Chinesen besitzen in seinen Augen sämtliche Freiheiten, die politische, die wirtschaftliche, die religiöse, die Gewissensfreiheit.⁸ Sie bilden eine einzige große Gemeinschaft, die für ihre sämtlichen Mitglieder väterlich sorgt. Ihre niedrigste Einheit ist die Familie, die das Grundeigentum gemeinsam besitzt und verwaltet; die einzelnen Familienglieder sind nur die vorübergehenden Nutznießer des Kollektiveigentums.⁹ Sie erfreuen sich seiner aber nur, solange sie tätig zu seiner Erhaltung und Vermehrung mit beitragen; Arbeit, besonders Feldarbeit, ist hier keine Strafe, sondern der natürliche Zustand des Menschen. Das Kapital spielt nicht die Hauptrolle, und die gering geachtete Industrie gehört nicht reichen Einzelnen, sondern ist korporativ organisiert, wie sie das in Europa im Mittelalter war.

Ebenso wie durch seine Arbeit ist der einzelne Chinese aber auch durch die Ahnenverehrung und durch die Heiratspflicht unlöslich mit der Gemeinschaft verbunden. Jeder einzelne, und sei er selbst der ärmste Auswanderer in fremde Zonen, strebt danach, sich vor der Gemeinschaft würdig zu erhalten oder ihre Anerkennung wiederzugewinnen. Es handelt sich hier aber keineswegs um ein künstliches

⁵ Englische Ausgabe: London 1887.

⁶ "En résumé, il semble que les Chinois considèrent le gouvernement comme un étranger dont le progrès doit les débarrasser peu à peu ou tout au moins réduire le rôle à sa plus simple expression. C'est leur idéal." Simon 195-196.

⁷ "En réalité, les Chinois se gouvernent et s'administrent eux-mêmes." Simon 15. "D'Après les Chinois, le corps politique auquel on donne le nom d'État est essentiellement fondé sur l'union intime du sol et de l'habitant, libres, l'un et l'autre; et aucun État ne peut être considéré comme démocratique qu'autant que cette fusion se trouve réalisée pour chaque habitant." Simon 135.

⁸ "Mais les Chinois n'ont pas que la liberté politique, ils ont toutes les libertés; liberté de conscience, de religion, de culte." Simon 16. "Donc, liberté complète et plus réelle que nous ne pouvons le rêver, d'industrie, de métier, de commerce, de banque et de circulation." Simon 18.

⁹ Die Erde ist "propriété collective du peuple." Simon 136.

System, das etwa Konfuzius erst geschaffen habe; dieser hat bloß die vorhandenen Sitten und Gesetze kodifiziert. Simon sieht also nicht rationalistisch, und nicht etatistisch, auch wenn er in seiner Chinabegeisterung keinem Aufklärer des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts das geringste nachgibt. Er prophezeit, daß alle europäischen Kolonisationsversuche gegenüber der erstaunlichen Lebenskraft dieser fernöstlichen Nation zusammenfallen würden,¹⁰ und er beschwört Europa inständig, dem chinesischen Beispiel zu folgen, was einem Vertreter des Jungen Deutschlands etwa aberwitzig erschienen wäre. Denn auch Simon hofft auf eine Zeit, in der der Staat eine durchaus untergeordnete Rolle spielt und die Kriege über Nacht verschwinden werden;¹¹ aber kein Jungdeutscher hätte für die Verwirklichung solcher Ideen irgendwelche Hilfe von China erhofft.

Das französische Buch ist noch heute anregend und gewinnbringend zu lesen. In Paul Ernsts Denken aber machte es Epoche, und niemals hat er Simons Anschauungen ganz aufgegeben oder seine Schlußfolgerungen außer Acht gelassen. Er hat sich später noch weitere Belehrung geholt, in Übersetzungen chinesischer Gedichte und Erzählungen wie in Abbildungen chinesischer Kunstwerke. Durch die Vermehrung seines allgemeinen Wissens wie durch die Wandlungen seines eigenen Denkens sind dann natürlich auch seine Anschauungen über China in vielen Einzelheiten verändert worden. Aber Simons Ansichten blicken doch immer wieder durch, und ohne das französische Buch hätte Paul Ernst kaum seinen Standpunkt gegenüber China so schnell und so sicher eingenommen.

Bezeichnenderweise finden wir die ersten eingehenden Äußerungen über chinesische Probleme sehr bald nach der Lektüre von Simons Buch, und die frühe Einstellung Paul Ernsts zu China entspricht ganz der des Franzosen. In Vergleich mit den unruhigen deutschen Verhältnissen am Ende des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts erscheinen dem jungen Dichter die Verhältnisse der orientalischen Staaten allgemein wunderbar stabil:¹² "Während bei uns der Sturm die Wogen bis auf den Grund aufwühlt . . . kräuselt sich dort nur zuweilen die Oberfläche. . . . Wenige Zoll unter der Oberfläche ist alles ruhig."¹³ Zwar scheint ihm der europäische Einfluß auch hier zersetzend gewirkt zu haben, und 1895 äußert sich Paul Ernst noch sehr bedenklich über Chinas Zukunftsaussichten.¹⁴ Aber 1901 ent-

¹⁰ "Vous parlez de l'avenir? Le voilà: c'est de déplacement, au bénéfice de l'Extrême-Orient, des industries françaises, anglaises et autres." *Simon* 164.

¹¹ "Si les peuples européens étaient aussi fortement organisés que le peuple chinois, leurs gouvernements n'auraient ni plus d'action ni plus d'initiative et toutes les guerres seraient, demain, terminées. Malheureusement nous n'en sommes pas là, en Europe." *Simon* 156.

¹² Vgl. *PSK* 25.

¹³ *PSK* 31.

¹⁴ *PSK* 32.

deckt er bereits am chinesischen Volke "keinerlei Zeichen des Verfalls; denn daß seine politische Existenz jetzt in einer schweren Krisis befindlich ist, wird doch durch äußere Verhältnisse erzeugt. Kaum irgendeine Nation wird es geben, die so widerstandsfähig gegen alle Schädlichkeiten ist und so durch rein soziale Tüchtigkeit sich geltend macht."¹⁵ Bei allen Schädlichkeiten, die er nicht leugnet, hält Paul Ernst Chinas Zukunft nun doch für gesicherter als die des "fortschrittlichen" Japans,¹⁶ und 1898 äußert er ausführlich seine Bedenken gegen die Annahme, die europäischen Staaten könnten China unter sich aufteilen und zum reichen Absatzmarkt ihrer Industrie machen; er weist hier¹⁷ und später^{18, 18} auf die zähe Eroberungskraft hin, mit welcher die friedliche chinesische Kolonisation sich ausbreitet, sowie auf die chinesische Fähigkeit, ihre fremden Beherrscher allmählich zu Chinesen werden zu lassen. Um die Jahrhundertwende äußert sich Paul Ernst schließlich ausführlich über die künftige Gestaltung der Welt. Während er Europas Aussichten nicht für sehr günstig erklärt, stellt er vier Weltmächten eine sehr günstige Prognose: Rußland, den Vereinigten Staaten, England, und schließlich China. Es ist ihm "die vierte Weltmacht, welche berufen scheint, eine große Rolle zu spielen und bestimmend einzugreifen in die jetzt stattfindende neue Bildung der Verhältnisse unserer Erde."¹⁸ Er weist auf die chinesische Auswanderung, ihre private Kolonisation und ihren kulturellen Einfluß durch Handelsbeziehungen hin und glaubt nicht, daß die mit Pferden pflügenden Russen es auf die Dauer mit den mit dem Spaten arbeitenden Chinesen aufnehmen können. Bei all dem muß man natürlich die Tatsache im Auge behalten, daß Paul Ernst noch das alte chinesische Kaiserreich erlebte; erst 1912 dankte ja die Kaiserinwitwe Lung-jü im Namen der Dynastie ab.

Als dann die chinesische Revolution den Bestand der alten chinesischen Kultur in Frage stellte, wurde auch Paul Ernst zeitweise skeptisch. So stellt er im *Zusammenbruch des deutschen Idealismus* (1918) einmal fest, daß die alte chinesische Bauernkultur durch "die teuflische Gewalt des Kapitalismus und der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft"¹⁹ rettungslos zerstört worden sei. Aber bald überwindet er die düstere Weltkriegsstimmung, und 1926 ist er wieder überzeugt, daß China sich zu neuer Ordnung erheben wird; "denn die Grundlagen seines Lebens sind so sicher und fest, daß der nötige Neubau

¹⁵ PSK 203.

¹⁶ PSK 89.

¹⁷ In dem Aufsatz "Die Aufteilung Chinas," PSK 105.

¹⁸ PSK 109.

¹⁹ ZI¹ 19. In EG 368 ff. betrachtet Paul Ernst den chinesischen Bauern als das Vorbild des Bauern überhaupt.

auf ihm keine Schwierigkeit machen wird. In Europa wird man viel mehr Arbeit gebrauchen, wird viel mehr Zeit vergehen, ehe eine neue Ordnung wieder kommen kann."²⁰ Auch in dem 1932 geschriebenen Aufsatz über sein "Dichterisches Erleben" erklärt Paul Ernst hoffnungsvoll: "China war bis zur Revolution das letzte Kulturland der Welt. Das chinesische Volk betrachtete mit Recht die übrigen Völker als Barbaren. Seine Gesittung war so groß, ruhte auf so festem Grunde, daß sie unmöglich zugrunde gegangen sein kann, sie muß wieder aufleben, und dann wird China unüberwindlich sein."²¹

Vergleicht man diese Äußerung von 1932 mit ähnlichen aus seiner Frühzeit, so muß es auffallen, wie wenig sich Paul Ernsts Einstellung zu China im ganzen gewandelt hat. Im einzelnen sieht er aber doch später die Dinge anders, und auf jeden Fall vertiefen sich seine Ansichten dauernd. Der Grund hierfür ist wohl darin zu suchen, daß Paul Ernst bei aller Begeisterung für den fernen Osten doch auch die Stimme der Kritik nicht unterdrücken kann und so immer aufs neue gezwungen wird, seine Ansichten zu bereinigen und zu überprüfen. Auch er kann China wie Max Dauthendey in seinem *Lingam* (1909) oder wie Otto Julius Bierbaum in seinem *Schönen Mädchen von Pao* (1899) als eine wunderliche Merkwürdigkeit sehen, die mit europäischen Begriffen nicht zu ergründen ist.²² Und der chinesischen Dichtung und Kunst gegenüber verhält sich Paul Ernst bei aller Bewunderung durchaus maßvoll und ruhig.

Schon früh sucht er in diese Dichtung tiefer einzudringen. 1896 bespricht er erfreut²³ die berühmte französische Anthologie aus der Thang-Epoche des Marquis d'Hervey-Saint-Denys²⁴ sowie Judith Gautiers *Livre de Jade*.²⁵ Er bewundert den "positiven lyrischen Reichtum ostasiatischer Kultur"²⁶ und preist Tu-Fu, Li-Tai-Pe und

²⁰ Vuz 107-108.

²¹ C 26-27. Ähnlich hoffnungsvoll in *Jünglingsjahre* (1931), 19.

²² Vgl. die ergötzlichen Spukgeschichten "Der Schemen" und "Die sonderbare Stadt" in der *Prinzessin des Ostens* (2. Aufl. München, 1918), 229-245, 253-263. Die in diesem Buche vereinigten Novellen sind zuerst 1898 und 1900 erschienen. Ähnlich wird China auch in der Geschichte "Die zehn chinesischen Hofkleider" (*Komödianten- und Spitzbubengeschichten* [1928], 103-107) behandelt.

²³ Paul Ernst, "Ostasiatische Lyrik," *Der sozialistische Akademiker* (später: *Sozialistische Monatshefte*), II (1896), 485-488.

²⁴ *Poésies de L'Époque des Thang* . . . Traduites du Chinois . . . par Le Marquis d'Hervey-Saint-Denys (Paris: Amyot, 1852).

²⁵ Am leichtesten erreichbar in der englischen Ausgabe: *Chinese lyrics from the Book of Jade*. Translated from the French of Judith Gautier by James Whitall (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1918). Die französische Auflage war sehr gering und bald vergriffen. Sie führte den Titel *Le Livre de Jade* par Judith Walter (Paris, 1867). Paul Ernst empfing von der Originalausgabe den tiefsten Eindruck (vgl. *Jünglingsjahre* [1931], 318).

²⁶ Paul Ernst in *Der sozialistische Akademiker*, II, 485.

Wang-wei. Im *Schiking* dagegen entdeckt unser Kritiker neben einer großen Reihe wunderbar feiner Gedichte auch manches Langweilige und Durchschnittliche.²⁷ Lobend erwähnt Paul Ernst in diesem Zusammenhang Lacharmes alte lateinische Übersetzung des *Schiking*²⁸ und warnt gegen die auf ihr beruhende deutsche *Schiking*-Übersetzung Friedrich Rückerts.²⁹ Gerade eine solche Einzelbemerkung beweist den Ernst der kritischen Bemühungen unseres Dichters. Er verliert nie den Abstand und nimmt das Chinesische durchaus mit Auswahl auf. So scheint ihm 1912 Martin Bubers Ausgabe von P'u Sung-lings *Chinesischen Geister- und Liebesgeschichten* aus dem *Liao-Chai*³⁰ zwar durchaus Erfreuliches, aber nicht gerade das Höchste und Tiefste zu bieten.³¹ So nennt Paul Ernst 1915 in einem Aufsatz über Richard Wilhelms *Chinesische Volksmärchen* (1915) die Chinesen "uns am fremdesten,"³² und ihre Musik bezeichnet er gleichzeitig als "uns wohl bis auf weiteres noch ganz unverständlich."³³ 1919 wieder bespricht er voller Verständnis und Bewunderung eine chinesische Novelle.³⁴ Doch 1929 wieder heizt es über die chinesische Lyrik: "Die chinesische Dichtung hat sehr strenge Formen, die wir unmöglich nachbilden können, weil die Sprache eine ganz andere Natur hat."³⁵

Das sind sicherlich Äußerungen eines intelligenten Kritikers, nicht eines fanatischen Schwärmers. Ähnlich beurteilt Paul Ernst auch die chinesische und die auf ihr fußende japanische bildende Kunst. Für ihre besten Leistungen begeistert er sich schon früh. Er findet 1896 bei den Ostasiaten naturwahre Beobachtung verbunden mit der zartesten "Delikatesse und Eleganz der Ausführung",³⁶ im Gegensatz zu den damals modernen Künstlern seien sie stets "innerhalb der Grenzen des empfindlichsten Geschmacks geblieben."³⁶ Aber diese Einsicht verschlieszt Paul Ernst nicht den Blick für andere, weniger erfreuliche Seiten der östlichen Kunst. Gerade mit ihnen beginnt er in dem programmatischen Aufsatz über "Die

²⁷ A. a. O. 487.

²⁸ Confucii *Chi-King Sive Liber Carminum*. Ex latina P. Lacharme interpretatione edidit Julius Mohl (Stuttgartiae et Tubingiae, Sumptibus J. G. Cotta, 1830). Paul Ernst kannte freilich auch Victor von Strauß' klassische Übersetzung des *Schiking* (vgl. Anm. 27).

²⁹ *Schi-King*. Chinesisches Liederbuch, gesammelt von Confucius, dem Deutschen angeeignet von Friedrich Rückert (Altona, bei J. F. Hammerich, 1833). S. iii erwähnt, daß Lacharmes Übersetzung die unmittelbare Quelle des Buches ist.

³⁰ *Chinesische Geister- und Liebesgeschichten*, herausgegeben von Martin Buber (Frankfurt a. M., 1911).

³¹ *Literarisches Echo*, XIV (1911-12), 1668-1669.

³² *VuZ* 104.

³³ *VuZ* 106.

³⁴ *WzF* 337-343.

³⁵ *VuZ* 112.

Kunst des Ostens"³⁶ von 1923, um uns dann um so schärfer auf das wirklich Vorbildliche derselben hinzuweisen. Der Aufsatz beschreibt eine spezifisch östliche Entartung, die in ihrem Wesen anders, aber nicht besser als die westliche ist. Im Westen mit seinem Individualismus ist der Künstler in seiner Einsamkeit "notwendig eine tragische Persönlichkeit";³⁷ wenn hier die Gesittung bergab geht, entartet die Kunst in Willkür und Formlosigkeit. Im Osten hängt der Künstler seelisch "eng mit seiner Volksgemeinschaft zusammen";³⁸ wenn hier die Gesittung bergab geht, kommt die mechanische Nachahmung, und es bleibt wenigstens die große, wenn auch unverstandene Form. Die *erscheint* uns dann nur als wertvoller als unsere Entartung in Formlosigkeit, obwohl sie im Grunde genau so seelenlos ist.

Vorbildlich für uns können höchstens die *besten* Zeiten der östlichen Kunst sein. So haben z. B. die Chinesen "eine Überlieferung, die so reich ist, daß wir wahrscheinlich einmal so viel von ihnen wissen könnten wie von uns selber, aber diese Überlieferung ist noch wenig erforscht."³⁹ Voll Bewunderung steht Paul Ernst vor der chinesischen Tuschkmalerei. Sie ist das Gegenteil der Nachahmung der Natur, sie ist

ganz geistig, und ihre Mittel, die leichte Tusche und der schmale Pinselstrich, sind geeignet, den Geist darzustellen. . . .⁴⁰ Der Chinese gibt nur das, was für den Sinn der Dinge wichtig ist, alles andere läßt er fort. Er will Unsinnliches malen. . . .⁴¹ Vielleicht kann man sagen, daß die Kunst des chinesischen Tuschbildes alles Diesseitige als Jenseitiges erscheinen läßt, indem es den Geist darstellt, der in den Dingen ist.⁴²

Hier wird also im Gegensatz zu allen aufklärerischen Ansichten die mystische und metaphysische Seite des Chinesentums klar herausgehoben. Hoffnungsvoll schließt Paul Ernst:

Jede Kunst wird aus einer Idee geboren, und das Abrollen dieser Idee bestimmt ihr Leben . . . reich sind die, bei denen viele Ideen neben- und durcheinander ihren geschichtlichen Ablauf finden, wie

³⁶ Eine Besprechung der ersten Bände der Sammlung *Die Kunst des Ostens*, herausgegeben von William Cohn, I-XI (Berlin, 1921-25).

³⁷ C 169.

³⁸ C 170. Auch die chinesische Dichtung ist Paul Ernst 1929 nicht bloß Literatur, und Malerei nicht bloß Kunstausstellung und Museum; "sondern die Kunst ist Ausdruck des gelebten Lebens, ist selber Leben. Und diese Kultur, als organische, hat sich ohne Bruch in Jahrtausenden entwickelt." *VuZ* 113.

³⁹ C 171. Ebenso hohe Achtung vor der chinesischen Kunst zeigt Paul Ernst in *EG* 12.

⁴⁰ C 173.

⁴¹ C 174.

⁴² C 175.

bei den Chinesen. Wie ist es bei uns? Die Kunst des Ostens sollte uns lehren, worauf es ankommt im Leben der Völker.⁴³

Wir haben es also wirklich mit einer geistigen Auseinandersetzung zu tun, die Paul Ernst seit seinen frühesten Zeiten bewegt und zu der er immer wieder zurückkehrt. Ihr tiefster Grund ist in seiner großen, sich stets gleichbleibenden Verehrung für China zu suchen. Er redet 1915 von den Chinesen als einem Volke, bei dem "das Geistige immer noch eine größere Macht ist wie das Materielle."⁴³ Und 1921 nennt er die Kulturen des Mittelmeeres, des Hoangho und Yangtsekiang, des Indus und Ganges die drei großen Kulturen und Zivilisationen der Menschheit.⁴⁴

Aber sicherlich hat auch ihn die Chinamode nach dem ersten Weltkrieg nicht unberührt gelassen. Unter dem Eindruck des verlorenen Krieges und der russischen Revolution begann damals eine allgemeine Wendung zum Osten hin. Die kapitalistische und individualistische Kultur des Abendlandes schien erledigt zu sein, der "Untergang des Abendlandes" war das am meisten gebrauchte Schlagwort.⁴⁵ Umgekehrt schienen die junge Kollektivkultur Rußlands und die alten Kollektivkulturen des fernen Ostens im Aufstieg begriffen zu sein. Der Inder Rabindranath Tagore fand damals in Deutschland einen begeisterten Empfang, und die pseudo-indische Lehre der Anthroposophie hatte gewaltigen Zulauf. Romane wie Waldemar Bonsels' *Indienfahrt* (1916) und Dramen wie Franz Werfels *Spiegelmensch* (1920) mit ihrer unkritischen Verherrlichung indischer Geisteshaltung wurden weithin beachtet.⁴⁶ Ebenso waren chinesische Motive im ersten Jahrzehnt nach dem Kriege weit verbreitet. Hans Bethge, Klabund und Albert Ehrenstein veröffentlichten eine Reihe Lehnübersetzungen von chinesischen Literaturwerken.⁴⁷ Franz Kuhns—natürlich unvergleichlich sorgfältigere—Übersetzungen chinesischer Romane konnten in Liebhaberausstat-

⁴³ C 176.

⁴⁴ Im Vorwort zum *Kaiserbuch* (C 47).

⁴⁵ George H. Danton und Annina Periam Danton nennen die chinesische Mode "corollary to defeat" ("Scouting through Contemporary German Fiction," *German Quarterly*, III [November, 1930], 146).

⁴⁶ Vgl. John Forst, *Indien und die deutsche Literatur von 1900 bis 1923* (Diss. New York University, 1934).

⁴⁷ Vgl. Hans Bethge, *Die chinesische Flöte* (Leipzig, 1907); *Pfirsichblüten aus China* (Berlin, 1922).—Klabund, *Dumpe Trommel und berauschtes Gong* ("Insel-Bücherei," Nr. 183; Leipzig, 1915); *Das Blumenschiff* (Berlin, o. J.); *Der Kreidekreis*, Spiel in fünf Akten nach dem Chinesischen (Wien, copyright 1929).—Albert Ehrenstein, *Schi-King*, das Liederbuch Chinas, nach Friedrich Rückert (Leipzig, 1922); *Pei-Lo-Tien* (Berlin, 1923); *China klagt*, Nachdichtungen revolutionärer chinesischer Lyrik aus drei Jahrtausenden (Berlin, 1924); *Räuber und Soldaten*, Roman, frei nach dem Chinesischen (= *Schi Nai gan, Schui-hu dschuan*) (Berlin, copyright 1927).—Hans Böhm, *Lieder aus China* (München, 1929).

tung im Inselverlag erscheinen,⁴⁸ und Klabunds *Kreidekreis* (1929) ging über die deutschen Bühnen.

Paul Ernst war für diese neue Kulturmode besser vorbereitet als die meisten Zeitgenossen. 1929 konnte er stolz sagen: "Schon lange hatte ich die Ahnung, daß in der chinesischen Kultur manche Aufgaben gelöst sind, um welche wir uns heute bemühen müssen, und so habe ich manches Entlegene über China und Chinesisches gelesen."⁴⁹ Die bahnbrechende Sammlung chinesischer Klassiker, die Richard Wilhelm seit 1910 im Diederichsschen Verlag in Jena erscheinen ließ,⁵⁰ wurde unserem Dichter sofort bekannt; er schrieb darüber am 7. Mai 1911 im *Tag*. Und schon damals erklärte Paul Ernst prophetisch: "Es stehen uns wichtige Berührungen mit dem chinesischen Volk bevor; wahrscheinlich wird für absehbare Zeit der Inhalt der Weltgeschichte der Kampf unserer Kultur, zu der man auch die Inder und die mohammedanischen Völker rechnen kann, mit der Kultur der Chinesen sein."⁵¹ So kam ihm die neue Strömung durchaus nicht überraschend, und er hatte ein begründetes Recht, vor Mißverständnissen zu warnen.⁵²

Aber trotzdem ließ auch er sich von ihr tragen. Das sieht man zunächst an der Tatsache, daß in dieser Zeit vereinzelt chinesische Stoffe in Paul Ernsts Dichtungen auftauchen. Und zwar sind es bezeichnenderweise taoistische Stoffe, die dem rationalistischen achtzehnten Jahrhundert noch völlig fernlagen. Jetzt ist das zwanzigste Jahrhundert nicht nur zu der früher unbeachteten chinesischen Kunst vorgedrungen, sondern auch zur wirklichen chinesischen Dichtung, und damit gewinnt die ganze taoistische Geisteswelt eine neue Bedeutung für das Abendland. Die mystische Seite des Chinesentums ist endgültig entdeckt.

Paul Ernst läßt im dritten Teile des *Kaiserbuches* (1923-28) Friedrich II. ein angeblich arabisches Märchen vom "König Weisel" wiedergeben, das ihm eine alte Wärterin in seiner Kindheit erzählt

⁴⁸ Hans Kuhn übertrug: *Eis Herz und Edeljaspis oder die Geschichte einer unglücklichen Gattenwahl* (= *Hau K'iu Tschuan*) (Leipzig, 1926); *Die Rache des jungen Meh oder das Wunder der zweiten Pflaumenblüte* (= *Örl tu meh*) (Leipzig, 1927); *Kin Ping Meh oder die abenteuerliche Geschichte von Hsi Men und seinen sechs Frauen* (Leipzig, 1930); Tsao Hsue Kin, *Der Traum der roten Kammer* (= *Hung-lou-meng*) (Leipzig, 1932); *Die Räuber vom Liang schan Moor* (= *Schi Nai Gan, Schui-hu dschuan*) (Leipzig, 1934); *Mondfrau und Silbervase*, ein altchinesischer Frauenroman (= *Ko lian hua ying*) (Berlin, 1939).

⁴⁹ *VuZ* 112.

⁵⁰ Richard Wilhelms Übersetzungen erschienen unter dem Gesamttitel "Die Religion und Philosophie Chinas" bei Eugen Diederichs in Jena. Hiervon 1910 *Kungfute, Gespräche*, und 1911 *Liä Dsi, Das wahre Buch vom quellenden Urgrund*.

⁵¹ *VuZ* 393.

⁵² *VuZ* 110. "Besonders wird mit Laotse viel Unfug getrieben" (1926).

hät. Dieses Märchen ist eine Geschichte P'u Sung-Lings aus dem *Liao-Chai*,⁵³ die Paul Ernst wohl in Martin Bubers deutscher Ausgabe⁵⁰ kennen gelernt hat, die er 1912 gleich nach Erscheinen besprach.⁵¹ Bei P'u Sung-Ling schläft ein Mann namens Tu Hsün ein und wird im Traum in den Thronsaal des Bienenkönigs gebracht, in dessen Tochter Lily er sich verliebt. Nach ein paar Tagen träumt Tu Hsün wieder von dem Bienenpalast und nimmt an den Vorbereitungen zur Verlobungsfeier teil. Da bricht ein Ungeheuer in den Palast ein, und es gibt große Aufregung. Durch den Lärm erwacht Tu Hsün und findet sich in der Nähe eines ausgebrochenen Bienen-schwarms wieder. Als Tu diesen in den Stock zurückbringt, entdeckt er darin eine große Schlange; sie war das Ungeheuer, von dem er geträumt hat. Die Bienen bleiben bei ihm und vermehren sich jedes Jahr.

Paul Ernst hat dieses im siebzehnten Jahrhundert niedergeschriebene Märchen taoistischen Ursprungs in seinem *Kaiserbuch*⁵⁴ zunächst ganz in deutsches Gewand gekleidet. Aus einem Mandarin P'u Sung-Lings ist ein stolzer Ritter geworden, aus dem chinesischen Kaiser ein deutscher König, aus der Schlange eine Maus. Außerdem hat er die zwei Träume in einen zusammengezogen. Den Kern der Geschichte jedoch hat er unverändert gelassen.

Ebenso hat er sich in den *Gedichten und Sprüchen* von einer taoistischen Geschichte beeinflussen lassen. Es ist die von dem großen Lyriker T'ao Yüan Ming (365-427)⁵⁵ erzählte "Sage vom Pfirsichblütenquell,"⁵⁶ eine von den vielen taoistischen Geschichten vom Suchen nach dem Lebenselixier. Hier handelt es sich um einen Flußfischer, der unvermutet in einen Pfirsichblütenhain gerät. Als er erstaunt aus dem seltsamen Walde herauszukommen versucht, führt der Fluß in einen Berg hinein. Dort drinnen befindet sich eine ausgedehnte Gegend voll stattlicher Häuser und fruchtbarer Gärten. Die Bewohner sind wie die Sterblichen gekleidet und scheinen sehr glücklich; sie haben sich vor politischen Unruhen der Tsin-Zeit (265-420 n. Chr.) hierher gerettet und wissen nichts von den neueren Herrschern. Der Fischer bleibt ein paar Tage bei diesen Unsterblichen und begibt sich dann wieder nach Hause. Entgegen seinem

⁵³ Hier wiedergegeben nach Herbert A. Giles' Übersetzung in *Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio* (London, 1880), II, 56-63: "The Princess Lily."

⁵⁴ Paul Ernst, *Das Kaiserbuch* (Volksausgabe. München, 1935-36), III, 638-641.

⁵⁵ Vgl. über ihn Richard Wilhelm, *Die chinesische Literatur* (Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft, herausgegeben von Oskar Walzel: Wildpark-Potsdam, copyright 1926), 128-130.

⁵⁶ Vgl. die deutsche Übersetzung von Anna Bernhardt, "Tau Jüan-ming," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen an der Universität Berlin*, XV (1912), 113-117.

ausdrücklichen Versprechen berichtet er nach seiner Rückkehr von seinem Abenteuer; aber ausgesandte Späher finden die Öffnung des Berges nicht wieder. T'ao Yüan Ming fügt noch einige Verse bei, in denen er die Glücklichen preist, die frei vom Staat in Abgeschiedenheit leben.

Paul Ernst hat auch hier straff zusammengezogen und das spezifisch Chinesische der deutschen Vorstellungswelt nahegebracht. Sein Gedicht "Beim namenlosen Volke" in den *Gedichten und Sprüchen*⁵⁷ hat aus dem chinesischen Märchen das Traumerlebnis eines Dichters gemacht:

Es treibt ein Boot. Mir scheint, daß ich es bin,
Der liegt im Boot und träumt, ich weiß nicht, was.

Im Einklang mit dem Traumcharakter von Ernsts Gedicht fährt bei ihm das Boot in den Berg hinein; der Insasse braucht nicht, wie in der chinesischen Sage, auszusteigen. Das Land, wo das "namenlose Volk" wohnt, ist bei ihm hinter dem Berge, nicht darin, wie denn das deutsche Märchen immer gern von wunderbaren Gegenden "hinter den Bergen" ("Sneewittchen"), hinter einem schwierig zu überwindenden Wall ("Das Märchen vom Schlauraffenland") usw. fabelt. Am Ufer des seltsamen Landes erhebt sich der Träumende, dem sich inzwischen die Grenze zwischen Traum und Leben ganz verschoben hat, aus dem Boot und verbringt eine Weile bei dem namenlosen Volk. Bei der Rückkehr, d. h. hier bei dem Erwachen aus dem Traum, fühlt sich der Dichter auf der Erde heimatlos. Im Traum ist ihm die Wiese zum Garten, ein Bächlein zum Fluß, ein Buchenblatt zum Boot geworden.

Aber nicht bloß in seinem Dichten zeigt der sonst von seiner Zeit so unabhängige Paul Ernst den Einfluß der chinesischen Zeitmode. Selbst in seinem Denken unterliegt er ihr zum Teil. Auch er sieht nach dem ersten Weltkrieg die Lage für die zeitgemäße europäische Kultur als bedenklich an und beginnt erneut über das Wesen der östlichen Kulturen und über ihre mögliche Vorbildlichkeit für uns nachzudenken. In einem Aufsatz über "Die Kulturen des Ostens" (1923) stellt Paul Ernst die Lage folgendermaßen dar: "Die europäischen Völker stehen an einem bedeutenden Wendepunkt ihrer Geschichte, an einem Punkte gleich dem, als das Altertum ins Mittelalter, das Mittelalter in die Neuzeit übergang; der Weltkrieg und die Revolutionen sind die äußeren Erscheinungen einer innern Umgestaltung, deren Ziel und Ende noch niemand ahnen kann, an deren Anfang wir erst sind."⁵⁸ Dazu zeigen sich bei Zeiten, die in

⁵⁷ Paul Ernst, *Gedichte und Sprüche* ("Die Kleine Bücherei" 39. München, copyright 1934), 44-45.

⁵⁸ C 168.

der Umbildung begriffen sind, immer mehr fremde Einwirkungen als bei ruhigen Zeiten.⁵⁹ Und genau so wie im sinkenden Altertum der Einfluß des Ostens immer stärker wurde, ist das nun auch bei uns der Fall. Irgendwie geht der Gang der abendländischen Kultur jetzt fort vom Individualismus, und da müssen wir uns notwendig auch mit der chinesischen Kultur auseinandersetzen.

Die Größe der chinesischen Kultur sieht Paul Ernst mit Simon zunächst darin, daß sie wesentlich eine Bauernkultur ist. In dem Aufsatz "Das Maschinenherz" im *Zusammenbruch des Deutschen Idealismus* (2. Aufl. 1931) führt er aus, wie im Gegensatz zum Christentum das Chinesentum sich eine "Vorstellung von der Heiligkeit der Landarbeit beibehalten" hat. "Mit dieser Vorstellung hat es eine selbständige und große Gesittung geschaffen." "Im Weltkrieg zeigte sich der verborgene Fehler der europäischen Gesittung":⁶⁰ Die sogenannten Kulturbedürfnisse machten das Leben kostspielig und führten durch die Einschränkung der Kinderzahl zur Infragestellung des Bestandes unserer Kultur. Wenn in Europa dieselbe Gesinnung wie in China herrschte, "dann wäre nicht nur der fürchterliche Krieg nicht nötig gewesen, dann sähe Europa auch in eine glückliche und ruhige Zukunft, in welcher es alle seine geistigen Fähigkeiten entfalten könnte."⁶¹

Der letzte Teil des eben angeführten Aufsatzes⁶² bespricht zur weiteren Veranschaulichung ein Gleichnis des Dschuang dsi. Dort erklärt ein alter Gemüsegärtner einem Schüler des Kungfutse, wer Maschinen benutze, der betreibe alle seine Geschäfte maschinenmäßig und bekomme auch ein Maschinenherz. Paul Ernst legt das dahin aus, daß die Maschine die Übereinstimmung unseres Fühlens mit der Natur zerstöre; wir hätten kein persönliches Verhältnis zur Natur mehr und würden in unseren geistigen Regungen ungewiß und unselbständig. Gewiß will nun Paul Ernst nicht etwa törichterweise unsere ganze industrielle Entwicklung einfach verwerfen; aber es ist ihm ohne Zweifel gelungen, durch den Hinweis auf das chinesische Beispiel eine wunde Stelle der europäischen Kultur aufzuzeigen. Daß die Chinesen in erster Linie ein Bauernvolk sind, hat ihre Kultur bodenständiger und sicherer gemacht.

Eine andere Ursache für die Größe der chinesischen Kultur sieht Paul Ernst, ebenfalls im Anschluß an Simon, in dem völligen Fehlen des gemeinen Individualismus und in der religiösen Verankerung des Einzelnen im Metaphysischen. Schon 1911 schrieb er im *Tag*: "Alle Kulturen, von denen wir wenigstens etwas Wesentliches wis-

⁵⁹ *VuZ* 107 (1926).

⁶⁰ *ZfZ* 445.

⁶¹ *ZfZ* 448.

⁶² *ZfZ* 456-469.

sen, haben als letzte Einheit den Einzelmenschen, die chinesische Kultur aber nimmt als Einheit immer die Gesellschaft an."⁶³ Auch 1918 heißt es: "Hier war der Einzelne mit dem Unendlichen verbunden; durch die Geschlechtsfolge vor ihm und hinter ihm, und alle öffentlichen Einrichtungen ruhten auf dieser Verbindung."⁶⁴ Diese Gesellschaftskultur entsprang zunächst ursprünglichen Instinkten, die infolge der ewig gleichen Lebensverhältnisse immer stärker und sicherer wurden.⁶⁵ Später wurden diese Instinkte nun außerdem noch religiös und philosophisch untermauert. Den Taoismus erklärt Paul Ernst in den *Grundlagen der neuen Gesellschaft* (1930) für eine Mythisierung chinesischer Instinktserkenntnisse; sie hat die gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse der Chinesen wenigstens mit dünnen Fäden ans Jenseits angeknüpft und ihnen so eine lange Dauer verbürgt.⁶⁶ Der Konfuzianismus hat dasselbe nur auf eine andere Weise getan, indem er die Instinkte in folgerichtiger Weise rationalisierte. Hier ist "mit einem ungeheuren und nüchternen Verstand der ganze Umfang der Lebensaufgaben des Menschen geordnet," und wenn diese Ordnungen innegehalten werden, müssen sie ebenfalls "notwendig das Volk wie die Einzelnen am Leben erhalten."⁶⁷

Diese Erkenntnis an sich genügt jedoch Paul Ernst nicht. Er will sie auch für die besondere Lage Deutschlands fruchtbar machen. Und das ist nach ihm durchaus möglich, da ja das Deutschland seiner Zeit auch auf einer unindividualistischen Idee beruht; Paul Ernst bezeichnet sie 1926 als "die protestantisch-kantische Idee der Pflicht, der Entäußerung der Persönlichkeit unter ein objektives Ziel."⁶⁸ Und dazu dreht sich in China alles Denken um die Frage: "Wie kann ein Volk in Ordnung bleiben?"⁶⁹ Als Paul Ernst im *Zusammenbruch des Deutschen Idealismus* (1. Aufl. 1918) seine Gedanken zum ersten Male am Ende des Krieges breit ausführt, sieht er sofort im Chinesentum ein mögliches Ideal, das er aber auch sogleich wieder verwirft. Er weiß, wir können den chinesischen Ahnenkult nicht einführen, aber er hofft durch "das Rassenideal, die Höherzüchtung," einen "Teil des Nietzeschen Übermenschen, allge-

⁶³ *VuZ* 393.

⁶⁴ *Zf* 20. Vgl. auch *VuZ* 108: "Von allem Anfang war es den Chinesen klar, daß ein Volk nicht eine Anzahl einzelner Menschen ist, sondern ein einheitliches Wesen, das seine eigenen Lebensgesetze hat. Soweit wir in Europa zurücksehen, immer werden wir finden, daß der Denker mit dem einzelnen Menschen beginnt. Soweit wir in China zurücksehen, immer werden wir finden, daß das Leben der Gesamtheit von den Denkern untersucht wird."

⁶⁵ *GG* 29.

⁶⁶ *GG* 27.

⁶⁷ Vgl. "Der Sinn des Christentums" (1930) in *C* 247. Ähnlich in *GG* 27.

⁶⁸ *VuZ* 108.

⁶⁹ *VuZ* 109.

meine biologische Gedanken" den Einzelnen in der Zukunft zu verankern und so auf unsere Weise die Gemeinheit des Individualismus zu überwinden.⁷⁰ "Die gemeinen Menschen, auch die, welche des Höheren nicht fähig sind, würden wieder ein Ziel vor sich sehen, das ganz religiöser Art wäre. Und das Ziel wäre höher, wie das des chinesischen Volkes"; denn die Menschen würden sich aufopfern, um ein Höheres aus sich zu schaffen: "Die Chinesen stammen von Göttern ab, diese neuen Menschen erzeugen Götter."⁷¹

Auch in *Zusammenbruch und Glaube* (1922) kann sich Paul Ernst bei allem Interesse für das Chinesentum nicht die Bemerkung versagen, daß das chinesische Volk seinen Zustand nur dadurch erreicht habe, "daß es auf das Höchste verzichtete; wir können das Höchste erreichen, denn wir werden getrieben und gejagt durch die Sehnsucht, endlich einmal ein Ausruhen zu finden, das wir notwendig nur auf einer sehr hochgelegenen Ebene finden können."⁷² Trotzdem sieht er hier stärker als im *Zusammenbruch des Deutschen Idealismus* (1. Aufl. 1918) die Möglichkeit einer Anknüpfung an die bisherige christliche Religion; ja, er sieht sogar den Mangel der chinesischen Kultur darin, daß ihr die Religion fehlt.⁶⁹ Ebenso kulturkonservativ ist eine seiner letzten Äußerungen in dem Aufsatz "Mein dichterisches Erlebnis" von 1932: "Das deutsche Volk hat die Aufgabe noch vor sich, aus sich heraus eine neue Gesittung zu schaffen. Es muß sich darüber klar sein, daß seine alte Gesittung zerstört ist, daß es ganz neu aufbauen muß. Wenn es das Christentum versteht, dann hat es eine Grundlage, die fester ist als die Grundlage des chinesischen Volkes."⁷³

Bald nach der Niederschrift dieser Gedanken, am 13. Mai 1933, starb Paul Ernst. Im Juli 1937 aber begannen die Japaner in China einzurücken und dessen politischen Bestand ernstlich in Frage zu stellen. Es liegt wohl Grund zu der Annahme vor, daß Paul Ernst den chinesisch-japanischen Konflikt für ebensowenig wichtig wie die chinesische Revolution gehalten hätte. Seine Ansichten über China würden sich infolge der anscheinenden japanischen Eroberungen kaum grundlegend geändert haben. Wir brauchen darum bei der Beurteilung seiner Ansichten die neueren kriegesischen Entwicklungen nicht in Rechnung zu stellen, zumal ja ihr endliches Ergebnis noch in keiner Weise feststeht.

Auf jeden Fall ist Paul Ernst einer derjenigen deutschen Denker gewesen, die die später so allgemein gewordene neue Auffassung von China zuerst vertreten haben. Eine französische Darstellung hat

⁷⁰ ZfA 21.

⁷¹ ZfA 21-22.

⁷² Paul Ernst, *Zusammenbruch und Glaube* (München, 1922), 29.

⁷³ C 26-27.

ihn ursprünglich angeregt; doch ist er über sie hinaus in ungewöhnlichem Maße zu den Originalquellen vorgedrungen und hat sie selbständig und mit sachlicher Kritik überprüft. Auf allen diesen Grundlagen errichtete er ein wesentlich richtigeres Bild von China, als im achtzehnten und neunzehnten Jahrhundert üblich war. Anders als das von industriellen Problemen noch unbeschwerte achtzehnte Jahrhundert sieht Paul Ernst in China vor allen Dingen ein gesundes Bauernland; das gelehrte China, von dem die Aufklärung so schwärmte, tritt zurück. Anstatt der individualistischen Betrachtungsweise des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts, die die chinesische Kollektivkultur negativ als asiatischen Despotismus bewertete, finden wir eine Einstellung, die die Gefahren des Individualismus kennt und darum grundsätzlich zu einer positiven Bewertung Chinas bereit ist. Doch redet Paul Ernst bei aller Wärme seiner Ausführungen nie einer blinden Nachahmung das Wort. Denn er sieht in der chinesischen Kultur nicht wie die unhistorischen Aufklärer die Verwirklichung einer abstrakten und daher überall in gleicher Weise anzuwendenden Idee. Sondern er betont ihre natürliche Gewachsenheit und unnachahmliche Sonderart; die taoistischen, mystischen, metaphysischen Seiten des Chinesentums werden nachdrücklich hervorgehoben, und die von der Aufklärung überbetonten rationalistischen Züge treten in den Hintergrund. Die höchsten Beispiele chinesischer Kunst und Dichtung erscheinen nun in richtiger Beleuchtung als metaphysische Offenbarungen.

Dieses neue Chinabild hat Paul Ernst aus wirklicher innerer Anteilnahme erarbeitet. Ihn trieb das untrügliche Gefühl, daß in der chinesischen Kultur für sein anti-individualistisches Denken brauchbare Ansatzpunkte vorlägen. Aber er benutzte sie mit einer maßvollen Besonnenheit, die ihn von der nach dem ersten Weltkriege einsetzenden Chinamode im wesentlichen unabhängig machte. Ungleich besser als die Äußerungen der Modedichter erscheinen darum Paul Ernsts Gedanken über China geeignet zu sein, in den ferneren Auseinandersetzungen des Abendlandes mit dem fernen Osten wirksam und wegweisend zu werden. Man ist nicht überrascht, wenn man ihnen in der deutschen Literatur nach 1930 des öfteren begegnet, und man würde sich auch nicht wundern, wenn sie in der Zukunft in wachsendem Maße in das Bewußtsein der Gebildeten eindringen. Denn eine Zeit wie die heutige, in der der Individualismus im Sinken begriffen ist und in der autoritäre, kollektivistische, sozialistische Strömungen aller Art um die Herrschaft ringen, eine solche Zeit kann es sich nicht leisten, an der alten und großen Kollektivkultur des Chinesentums ohne tiefere Auseinandersetzung vorbeizugehen. Und bei Paul Ernst ist diese Auseinandersetzung in einsichtigster Weise vorbereitet.

New York University

THE ITALIAN POEMS OF THOMAS JAMES MATHIAS

By JOSEPH ROSSI

Those who have recently studied Mathias' Italian works have been concerned either with his Italian translations of English poems¹ or with his propaganda in behalf of Italian culture in England.² His original Italian poems have been neglected, although they constitute an important part of his activity in the Italian field. The purpose of the present paper is to fill this gap by examining these poems in order to evaluate both their intrinsic value and their historical significance in the field of Anglo-Italian literary relations.

These poems were written and published separately between 1802 and 1828. A few appeared, collected in a volume for the first time, in London in 1806 under the title of *Canzoni Toscane*, and were later reprinted with additions—translations³ as well as original poems—under different titles, in London, Florence, Rome, Naples, and Milan.⁴ They were well received by several Italian Academies. The newly re-established Accademia della Crusca elected the poet to the seat vacated by the death of Ginguené, at the meeting of the 28th of January 1817—the same meeting in which

¹ Natali, Giulio, "Un Arcade Inglese," *Nuova Antologia*, CCCXLVI (Dec. 1, 1929), 330-337.

² Marshall, R., *Italy in English Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), pp. 307-309; 329-330; and *passim*.

³ These translations also were first published separately as follows: Mason's *Sappho* (*Saffo*, 1809); Milton's *Lycidas* (*Licida*, 1812); Akenside's *Najads* (*Alle Najadi*, 1821; 2nd ed., 1823); Mason's *Caractacus* (*Carattaco*, 1823); Armstrong's *Art of Health* (*La Salute*, 1824); Beattie's *Minstrel* (*Il Bardo Citarista*, 1824); two episodes from Spenser's *Fairy Queen* (*Il Cavaliere della Croce Rossa*, 1826; *La Mutabilità*, 1827); Thomson's *Castle of Indolence* (*Il Castello dell'Ozio*, 1826).

⁴ *Canzoni Toscane* (Londra: Becket, 1806); pubblicate nuovamente con prefazione e note da S. E. Petronj (Londra, 1816); nuova edizione (Napoli, 1832). *Canzoni e Prose Toscane* (Londra: Becket, 1808). *Poesie Liriche e Prose Toscane* (Londra, 1810). *Poesie Liriche Toscane* (Londra, 1816; Firenze, 1817; Napoli, 1818); seconda edizione napoletana (Napoli, 1820); terza edizione napoletana, accresciuta di altri componimenti (Napoli, 1824). *Poesie Liriche Italiane, Inglese e Latine* (Napoli, 1822). *Poesie Liriche e Varie* (Napoli: Nobile, 1825), 3 vols. The foregoing editions and reprints are listed in the *Catalogue of printed books* of the British Museum. In addition, there were two more reprints of *Poesie Liriche Toscane*, one published in Rome in 1818, under the auspices of the Accademia degli Arcadi, the preface of which, by abbé Godard, was reprinted in *Poesie Liriche e Varie*, I, 27-29; the other, published in Milan by Ferrario in 1821 (see Carducci, *Opere*, II, 457). There was also a new edition of *Poesie Liriche e Varie*, published in Naples by the Stamperia del Fibreno in 1830.

Antonio Cesari was elected;⁵ the Accademia degli Arcadi of Rome had already honored him with a membership under the pastoral denomination of Lariso Salaminio;⁶ and later the Società Pontaniana of Naples elected him to a corresponding membership. The Accademia Tiburtina of Rome heard and applauded the reading of *Saffo*, one of his poetical translations, at its meeting of December, 1818,⁷ and undoubtedly other academies did likewise. Furthermore, the Crusca and the Arcadia sponsored respectively the Florentine and the Roman editions of his poems, as a sort of welcoming gesture when he visited their cities.⁸

The Italian editions of these poems were prefaced by letters written by fellow academicians, highly praising the poetical achievements of the English poet. The abbé Luigi Godard, Custodian General of Arcadia, considered the *Poesie Liriche Toscane* "degne veramente del cedro," and affirmed that "niuno . . . fra gli stranieri ha saputo meglio del Sig. Mathias lanciarsi a voli pindarici con ardimento oraziano, conservare nelle odi un andamento maestoso, armonico, ed elegante ad un tempo."⁹ Andrea Mazzarella da Cerreto, besides a highly complimentary letter, wrote also a *canzone* in Mathias' praise, in which he addressed him as a "happy swan, soaring in the Italian sky to a high immortal flight."¹⁰ Gaspare Mollo, duke of Lusciano, greatly marvelled at the fact that an Englishman had succeeded in writing Italian verses "così belli e sublimi che sembra sia un prodigio dell'Umano ingegno."¹¹ An English lady in-

⁵ Zannoni, G. B., "Breve Storia dell'Accademia della Crusca dalla sua fondazione sino a tutto il marzo del 1817," *Atti dell'Imperiale e Reale Accademia della Crusca*, I, lxii.

⁶ I do not know the date of Mathias' election to the Arcadia, but I surmise it is 1803, when Mathias had already edited some works by Italian writers. In 1804 he edited Crescimbeni's *Storia dell'Accademia degli Arcadi* (London: Becket), with the following dedication: All' / Accademia degli Arcadi / in Roma / questa storia / in segno / di gratitudine ed omaggio / d. [evotamente] d. [edica] / l'editore / tra gli Arcadi / Lariso Salaminio.

⁷ Simond, L., *A tour in Italy and Sicily* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown & Green, 1828), pp. 265-266.

⁸ "... intendiamo altresì di offerire a quel generoso Britanno un omaggio di stima sincera al suo comparire fra noi." Letter of the Accademia della Crusca, in Mathias' *Poesie Liriche e Varie* (Napoli: Nobile, 1825), I, 24.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

¹⁰ Cigno felice! che da strania riva

Per l'Italico ciel dispieghi l'ale

A volo alto immortale,

E a l'Arno, al Tebro, ed al Sebeto a canto

Sciogli sì dolce canto

Che ne' suoi più bei giorni Italia udiva . . . (*ibid.*, p. 9).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 5. Much more judicious is the opinion expressed in the anonymous letter prefixed to the Florentine edition sponsored by the Accademia della Crusca, which states that "... il principale impulso alla ristampa delle poesie del Sig. Mathias è stato in noi quello della gratitudine nazionale verso di lui, primo, e più di tutti, appassionato campione e propagatore della lingua e della letteratura italiana in Inghilterra." (*Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.) The formal approval of the Adunata dell'Arcadia is likewise couched in courteous but restrained language. (*Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.)

forms us that in Naples in 1823 the local *litterati* expressed great admiration for Mathias' poetical accomplishments;¹² and ten years later the American writer, Nathaniel Parker Willis, writing from Naples, spoke of "the wonder and admiration of the scholars of the country" for these poems.¹³

On the other hand, outside the Academies the popularity of Mathias' works must have been scanty. The only references found relating to them are two articles in the *Antologia* by "M."¹⁴ in which the original poems are ignored and the translations are severely criticized for their lack of clearness and harmony; in the second of these articles "M." even advises the poet to improve his Italian—and then translate some useful prose works!¹⁵

Mathias' poems consist of eight *canzoni*, one ode, two sonnets, and two other short compositions.¹⁶ Five *canzoni* and two sonnets are dedications of works edited or translated by him; two *canzoni* are eulogies of two deceased friends; one *canzone* and the ode deal with contemporary political events;¹⁷ the two short compositions are an inscription for the shrine of Tasso¹⁸ and a few lines written for the album of "una nobile damina inglese."

¹² "The Italians were as much surprised as delighted at his proficiency in their harmonious language, and I have heard several of the *litterati* amongst them bestow the warmest elogiums on the purity and precision with which he wrote it." *The Athenaeum*, London, August 22, 1835, p. 650.

¹³ Willis, Nathaniel P., *Pencilings by the way* (New York: Morris & Willis, 1844), p. 94.

¹⁴ *Antologia*, XIV (maggio, 1824), 49-60, and XVIII (giugno, 1825), 107-108. These two articles were perhaps written by Giuseppe Montani, the ex-banabite whom Vieusseux called to Florence to write for his review.

¹⁵ "S'egli, fatta una maggiore pratica della nostra lingua, volesse darci tradotti dei buoni libri di storia e di filosofia di cui la sua nazione abbonda, e farci partecipare a ricchezze un po' più agevoli, a trasportarsi da nazione a nazione che non le poetiche, allora sì che gli faremo i nostri cordiali ringraziamenti." *Antologia*, XVIII, 108.

¹⁶ *The Dictionary of National Biography*, art. "Mathias," mentions also a sonnet published posthumously in Wrangham's *English Library* which I have not seen.

¹⁷ The dedicatory poems are: *A Guglielmo Lort Mansel* (1802), *canzone*; *A Maria Riddell* (1802), *sonnet*; *A Guglielmo Roscoe* (1803), *canzone*; *A Barbina Wilmot* [Lady Dacre] (1806), *canzone*; *A Norton Nicholls* (1808), *canzone*; *A Eduardo D. Clarke* (1809), *canzone*; *A Gaetano Polidori* (1812), *sonnet*. The eulogies are entitled *Per la morte di Federico North*, . . . *conte di Guilford* (1827), and *Per la morte dell'onorevolissimo Cavaliere Guglielmo Drummond* (1828). The political compositions are *Partenope* (1820), *ode*; and *La Lusitania protetta dall'Inghilterra* (1827), *canzone*.

¹⁸ This poem, written in 1822 as an inscription for the shrine raised to Torquato Tasso in 1819 in the Royal (now Civic) Garden of Naples, was inspired by a sonnet written two centuries before by Bernardino Baldi, and first published by P. Serassi in *La Vita di Torquato Tasso* (1784), 3rd ed. (Firenze: Barbera, 1858), II, 328. Compare the first quatrain of Baldi's sonnet:

Tu che dal freddo clima e dall'adusto
Barbaro peregrin, sul Tebro arrivi,
Condotta dal desio d'onorar quivi
Del Tasso, anco a te noto, il marmo e 'l busto . . .

These poems have all the typical traits of the worst classicist poetry. They are characterized by a superabundance of personifications, apostrophes, prosopopoeias, visions, interrogations, and all other rhetorical devices. Frequently the poet seems overwhelmed by reminiscences from his favorite poets, and goes on heaping image upon image, while sense and syntax come off as they can.

The reader cannot avoid the feeling that Mathias "constructed" his poems like a mosaic, piecing together phrases and even whole lines culled from Italian classical poets, at times irrespective of their congruity to his own lines. In *A Guglielmo Roscoe* (lines 107-108), speaking of Italy he affirms:

... l'alma contrada
Di morte non vedrà l'ultima sera,

repeating what Virgil says of Dante to Cato in *Purgatorio* (I, 58):

Questi non vide mai l'ultima sera,

without realizing that his addition of "di morte" makes the meaning of the line ambiguous. In *A Barbarina Wilmot*, he remembers the first two lines of *Purgatorio*:

Per correr miglior acqua alza le vele
Omai la navicella del mio ingegno,

and imitates them in lines 55-57:

Per correr maggior acqua amiche vele
Da nocchiero fedele
Opico t'offre,

although the supplying of sails seems a most unusual task for a pilot, no matter how faithful. Again, in *A Norton Nicholls*, the last two lines of the *Gerusalemme Liberata* come to his mind:

E qui l'armi sospende, e qui devoto
Il gran sepolcro adora, e scioglie il voto,

and he repeats, in lines 35-36:

Con raro affetto al sordo volgo ignoto
Tosche cetre io sospendo, e scioglio il voto,

although he makes no mention of vows anywhere else in the poem. And finally, in this same composition (line 108), he recalls a phrase in Petrarch's "canzone," *Italia mia*:

with the opening lines of Mathias' poem:

Ma tu, dal freddo clima o dall'adusto
Che arrivi, Peregrin, lieto e bramoso
In atto rispettoso
T'inchina a questi marmi, e al sacro Busto. . .

E i cor che 'ndura e serra
 Marte superbo e fero
 Apri tu, Padre, e 'ntenerisci e snoda,

and repeats:

E alla toska contrada
 Voce più d'una par che dolce s'oda,
 Che ogni aspro core intenerisce e snoda,

well knowing that in the year 1808 Italian classical poetry was not mollifying any hearts.

Another characteristic of Mathias' poetry is its striking lack of harmony, noticeable in the individual lines as well as in the monotonous rhythm of the stanzas. This failure to evaluate the musical quality of the words and constructions used was due to the fact that the poet, in spite of his knowledge of Italian poetic language, never mastered Italian pronunciation well. As a matter of fact, he was unable to speak the language fluently even after years of residence in Italy,¹⁹ although, curiously enough, his long residence in that country influenced strongly his spoken English, which was found "full of Italian idioms" by an American who called on him in Naples.²⁰

The *canzone* written on the death of Frederick North, founder and first Chancellor of the Ionian University at Corfu,²¹ is a fair sample of Mathias' poetic powers.

It begins with a reference to the Turkish persecutions suffered by the Greeks, and to the death of Lord Byron, recently perished fighting for Greek freedom; then it goes on with the rhetorical question:

... da quai lontani lidi
 In su l'ale de' venti
 S'odon aspri lamenti
 Dal cor traendo sì dogliosi stridi?

The cause, the poet promptly informs us, is the death of Frederick ("Frederico spirò! Albion s'affanna"), whose life he proceeds to relate. After asking another rhetorical question,

Donde cominci il canto, o dove cessi?

¹⁹ "... he could not converse with facility, probably from never having been in Italy till towards the end of his life." *Gentleman's Magazine*, loc. cit. "Though his writings displayed a perfect knowledge and mastery of Italian, his conversation in that language was not remarkable either for its fluency or correctness." *The Athenaeum*, loc. cit.

²⁰ Willis, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

²¹ This University was founded in 1823 by Frederick North, fifth Earl of Guilford (1766-1827). It was disestablished at the cessation of the British protectorate over the island in 1864. Some interesting details on its organization, from a contemporary source, are found in Stanhope, L., *Greece in 1823 and 1824* (London: Sherwood, Gilbert & Piper, 1825), pp. 395-396.

the poet decides to start from the beginning :

Da' suoi primi anni inchino
Sul cammin pellegrino
Fur sempre gli alti suoi vestigi impressi ;
Sallo Etona e sa l'Isi il bel racconto.

His poor health, he tells us, was no hindrance to his studies :

La men ferma salute
Nè a studj o a sua virtude
Sentir mai fece un torbido tramonto ;

on the contrary, his scholastic success was brilliant enough to foreshadow his future achievements. In the next two stanzas the poet extols the attainments of the deceased's father. Then he goes back to Federico, now a mature man, and governor of Ceylon :

Ve' *Federico* nell'età matura
Al Gange ed all'Aurora
Volsse sua dotta prora,
E a' governi, e alle lingue e lor cultura.

But suddenly the French Revolution breaks out like a storm, destroying Science :

Ma improvviso si desta
La grandiosa universal tempesta
E da barbara guerra
Scienza si vide fulminata a terra,

and in Frederick's soul,

Tra zelo, affetto e doglia
Or nacque accesa voglia,

that is, the desire to save Greek culture from utter oblivion, by founding a University in Corfu.

The foregoing examples, with awkward images like the "turbid sunset of studies," "Frederick's learned prow," and "Science struck to the ground by a thunderbolt," are sufficient to show what sort of poetry Mathias could write. However, in spite of his bad verses, occasional bad grammar, and bombast, Mathias must be credited with a sincere and deep admiration for Italian literature, a sentiment repeatedly expressed in his poems.

There is hardly a poetical composition of his without some laudatory mention of Italian poets. In *A Guglielmo Lort Mansel*, Ariosto is called, "il favoloso Nume"; Tasso is said to express ". . . in favella aurea immortale—Misurata grandezza . . ."; and

Guidi is considered a worthy rival of Pindar.²² In the seventh stanza of *A Guglielmo Roscoe*, he praises Tiraboschi, Dante, Petrarch, Chiabrera, Ariosto, Tasso, and again his beloved Guidi.²³ In *A Eduardo Clarke* he describes the apotheosis of Metastasio, the "Toscan Euterpe," celebrated by "heavenly quoirs." The poetry is still bad, but the sentiment seems sincere.

Another sincere note that one may detect in Mathias' poems is his love for the Italian land. He travelled in Italy for his health in 1817, and later remained in that country, precisely, in Naples, for the rest of his life. An English lady who met him there, in 1823, found him in love with the land, the people, the climate, and the cuisine.²⁴ An echo of his love for Naples and for the peaceful life he had found there seems to resound in his ode *Partenope*, written in 1820. The Carbonari's revolution must have been a very disturbing experience for poor Mathias who, when peace was reestablished, expressed his elation in this poem, the end of which, while not a masterpiece, is simpler and more direct than usual. The Revolutionary license is over, the poet says; Patriotism now abides in the Royal Palace, together with Freedom. Therefore let Naples, the Siren, be quiet and peaceful:

No: licenza a terra cade,
Cade come corpo morto:
E dall'almo solio sorto,

²² Dal suo carro il Pavese alto e gagliardo
Volge a Dirce lo sguardo,
E, regolando ai gran destrieri il volo,
Pel deserto sentiero arriva solo.

A Guglielmo Lort Mansel

²³ Da' gioghi Ascrei l'aura soave spira
Risvegliatrice di sovrani ingegni
D'antica gloria degni;
Già lo splendor di Bergamo t'invio,
(Nè a celebrarlo invan forse altri aspira)
A cui ne' cori eterni Apollo accorse,
E tanto onor gli porse
Che l'entrata maggior di Pindo aprio.
Vedo co i due gran Toschi il Savonese,
E di Ferrara e di Sorrento i lumi,
E lungo i noti fiumi
L'arpa aurata temprar sento il Pavese.

A Guglielmo Roscoe

²⁴ "He was a gastronome in the full extent of the word, took a lively interest in the first appearance of green peas, was a connoisseur in wild boar, and could disengage a beccafico from its envelope of vine leaves, in much less than the ordinary time bestowed on such operation, murmuring to himself all the time, 'Bless my soul, how very delicious, how very delicious!' The fine climate, the cheapness of the luxuries he liked, the cheerful society, and the respect his acquirements had won for him, must have rendered the residence of Mr. Mathias at Naples the most agreeable part of his life. He spoke of it as such, and seemed to shrink as if exposed to cold, when a return to England was named, as among the possibilities of fate." *The Athenæum*, loc. cit.

Ride amor di patria intorno,
Come adorno,
Or che nasce, etereo sol.

D'ogni terra e d'ogni etade
Idol vago, oggetto amato,
Libertà si sente a lato:
Di virtù splenda il coro,
E canoro
Pace suoni il sacro stuol!

Forsennata, tremebonda,
La Sirena, il crin disciolto,
Più non gridi accesa in volto,
Nè d'orror lo tremolio,
Nè desio
Or la spinga a imperversar.

The concluding stanza seems to sum up the mixed feelings aroused in the poet by the recent turn of events: a shiver of horror at the recollection of the revolution, and a sigh of contentment for the renewed enjoyment of his idyllic life:

Minacciosa non più l'onda
Rauca orrenda il lido franga,
Ma, nel suor che dolce pianga,
S'oda sola alla marina
Indovina
L'Alcione lamentar.

A sentiment that one would look for in vain in these poems is sympathy for the wretched political conditions of Italy—a sentiment which had already made its first appearance in English literature at the beginning of the century.²⁵ There are, it is true, a few scattered allusions to Italian sufferings that can be gleaned here and there,²⁶ but these utterances seem less an expression of sympathy for

²⁵ Marshall, *op. cit.*, pp. 264-271.

²⁶ Vedi . . . in sè raccolta

Già dell'arti la cuna, or fossa e tomba
Mentre fiammeggia e piomba
Anche sul cener suo straniero brando,
L'Italia oppressa, abbandonata, incolta!

A Guglielmo Roscoe

Giacchè da breve speme a' lunghi lutti
L'affitta Italia e 'l desolato Impero
Si desta, e piange da fatal guerriero
Suoi campi guasti e eserciti distrutti;
E stende la radice ognor lo *Giglio*
Con sì mortal periglio;
E co' cipressi ai crin (non più co' mirti)
Or scompigliati ed irti,
Mostra il Sebeto all'onda in fuga volta
La Sirena sepolta. . . .

A Barbarina Wilmot

Italy, than one of fear and hatred toward Napoleon, "il sanguinoso e bruno—Tiranno" (*A Eduardo Clarke*, lines 109-110), and toward the revolutionary ideology, "L'urto d'idee sfrenate e nove" (*A Guglielmo Roscoe*, line 32).

This is not surprising when we consider that Mathias, the timid old man for whom the crossing of a Neapolitan street was a dangerous adventure,²⁷ was conservative by birth, training, and inclination. Revolutions are uncomfortable experiences for all people, but they are more so for literati living on a Royal Pension.²⁸ After the Restoration had disposed of the Napoleonic danger, the enemy to dread was the Revolution which, as Mathias saw it, was threatening to engulf all Europe, England included.²⁹ It was therefore natural that he should look with suspicion and dislike upon the Italian liberals.

His love for Italy was sincere but somewhat narrow. He was fond of Italian literature and Italian literati. But the Italian literature he admired was not the living expression of a living nation, but rather the symbol of a tradition hallowed and hollowed by time, which gave him a comfortable illusion of permanency in a bewilderingly changing world. A Tory in politics and a classicist in literature, what could he have in common with the Italian liberals, who were radical in politics and romanticists in literature? He was afraid of their political ideas and was shocked by their literary apostasy which led them to reject "le proporzioni armoniche e . . . le corrispondenze meravigliose di metro e di rima de' Toschi maggiori," to exalt instead the "tante cicalate, pazzie, e ciance di certi Francesi e Tedeschi moderni che germogliano in copia smisurata, come piante mal sane in un terreno selvatico e guasto."³⁰

²⁷ "Among other nervous peculiarities he had a constant dread of being driven over by the vehicles continually passing through the populous streets of Naples, and it was often a source of amusement to his acquaintances, to see him anxiously watching what he considered a safe opportunity of passing the cross-way, advancing with precipitation, and, when in the middle, retreating in terror, though no danger threatened, so that it often took him whole hours to walk half a mile if obliged to cross the street. 'Bless my soul, Bless my soul how dreadfully dangerous' (would he exclaim); 'I was within a moment of being killed, though the carriage, at whose approach he trembled, was twenty yards off.' *The Athenæum*, loc. cit.

²⁸ The payment of this pension was stopped at the beginning of the reign of William IV. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, New Series, III (Jan.-June, 1835), 523-524.

²⁹ Or turbo, qual da eolia chiostra, è surto

Di principi stravolti

In ogni parte aspro-fremanti e sciolti,

D'idee sfrenate l'urto . . .

Ahi, spavento e periglio

Bretagna istessa e il mondo ancor circonda.

La Lusitania protetta dall'Inghilterra.

³⁰ Lettera agli eruditi e culti inglesi amatori della lingua, della letteratura e della Poesia Italiana (Londra, 1808), p. 41.

Perhaps not the least attraction that Naples held for him was the fact that that city was comparatively free from such evil growth during his lifetime. And the Italian literati he loved were the decorous Academicians who graciously welcomed him into their fold, and the adventurers he met in London, like Lorenzo Da Ponte, who repaid his protection with compliments on his Italian scholarship.⁸¹

The gratitude of the Italian Academicians for this sincere, though narrow, love for Italy and its literature was one of the most important reasons why Mathias' poems enjoyed a certain popularity in spite of their obvious faults.⁸² This popularity, however, was short-lived because these poems contrasted, both in spirit and form, with the social, political, and literary ideals prevalent in Italy during the first half of the nineteenth century. It is interesting to note that the only Italian writer who, at a later date, made more than casual mention of Mathias was Giosuè Carducci, the champion of the anti-Romantic reaction, who wrote a few sympathetic, though not laudatory, pages on him.⁸³ This being the case, one cannot expect to find that Mathias' poems had any influence in Italy.

It is more difficult to determine their importance and influence in English literature. Although the considerable number of their editions and reprints might suggest a large circulation,⁸⁴ the references we find to them in contemporary sources are few and inconclusive. In 1805, Barbarina Wilmot, who later became Lady Dacre, addressed a sonnet to Mathias dedicating to him her English translation of two *canzoni* by Petrarch,⁸⁵ a compliment Mathias reciprocated by dedicating to her in a *canzone* his edition of Gravina's *Della Ragion Poetica*. In 1824, William H. Prescott wrote in an article in the *North American Review*, "The name of Mathias is well known to every lover of the Italian tongue; his poetical productions

⁸¹ Mathias met Da Ponte in London, and became greatly attached to him. When Da Ponte, after one of his many risky business ventures, was in danger of financial ruin, Mathias went to his rescue with a loan of six hundred pounds, which Da Ponte was never in a position to repay (Da Ponte, *Memorie*, I, 259-260). Many years later he still remembered Da Ponte with affection, corresponding and exchanging literary works with him (*ibid.*, II, 178-186). A young American writer, Nathaniel Parker Willis, who called on him in Naples in 1833, relates, "He spoke with rapture of Da Ponte, calling me back as I shut the door to ask for him. It seemed to give him uncommon pleasure that we appreciate and value him in America" (*op. cit.*, p. 94).

⁸² This feeling of gratitude is found stressed in all the prefatory letters of the Academicians.

⁸³ Carducci, *Opere*, II, 458-461.

⁸⁴ It is possible that many of these editions and reprints were limited to a small number of copies and issued at the expense of the author for distribution among friends and acquaintances.

⁸⁵ *Le canzoni di Petrarca, "Nella stagion che 'l ciel rapido inclina" e "Di pensier' in pensier, di monte in monte," tradotte in versi inglesi* (London: Bulmer & Co., 1805?).

rank with those of Milton in merit, and far exceed them in quantity."³⁶ Lorenzo Da Ponte in his *Memorie*, published in New York in 1823-1827, called Mathias, "il più stimabile e il più grande di tutti gli stranieri che nella lingua nostra hanno scritto."³⁷ In Mathias' obituaries, published in 1835 in the *Athenæum* and in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, it is stated that, "his Italian *Canzoni* and translations from the English have been always held up to admiration for their grace and correctness";³⁸ and that "he composed in the language of Petrarch with elegance and correctness."³⁹

On the other hand, it must be noted that these poems were not widely reviewed in literary journals—perhaps not reviewed at all;⁴⁰ that of the many English and American travelers who visited Italy during Mathias' residence in that country, only a few mention him;⁴¹ that Ugo Foscolo,⁴² Walter Scott,⁴³ and Edward Everett,⁴⁴ who were almost certainly acquainted with Mathias' Italian poems, never mention them in their works; and that only one prominent English writer, Thomas Moore, reports an opinion on them, and it is not a flattering one.⁴⁵ All this seems to indicate that Mathias' poetry did

³⁶ *North American Review*, XIX (Oct., 1824), 340.

³⁷ Da Ponte, *Memorie* (Bari: Laterza, 1918), II, 97.

³⁸ *The Athenæum*, loc. cit.

³⁹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, New Series, IV (July-Dec., 1835), 552.

⁴⁰ Mathias' name does not even appear in Poole's *Index*. How much of this neglect may be traced to the almost universal resentment aroused by his *Pursuits of Literature*?

⁴¹ In over thirty diaries perused only two were found with references to Mathias' Italian works, namely, Simond's *A tour in Italy and Sicily* and Willis' *Pencilings by the way*.

⁴² In 1818 Lady Dacre began her literary association with Foscolo, in the course of which she supplied him with English translations of the Italian verse he quoted in his articles on Italian literature. Foscolo, *Opere* (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1853), VII, 378. In the same year in Rome, and in the next year in Naples, Mathias republished his *canzone* to Lady Dacre and the sonnet this lady had addressed to him. *Cornell University Library: Catalogue of the Petrarch Collection* (London: Oxford University Press, 1916), p. 153. It seems unlikely that Foscolo would not be acquainted with at least this poem of Mathias.

⁴³ In a letter of 1808, Walter Scott refers to Mathias as "my friend Mathias (the author of the *Pursuits of Literature*)."*Familiar Letters* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1894), I, 112-113. On the occasion of his visit to Naples in 1832 Mathias "contributed . . . to his comfort and amusement," and aided him to make "a collection of Neapolitan and Sicilian ballads and broadsides." Lockhart, J. G., *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott* (Edinburgh, 1847), p. 739. Wouldn't Mathias at this time offer Sir Walter copies of his Italian poems—if he had not done so before?

⁴⁴ "He talked a great deal of America naturally, and expressed a very strong friendship for Mr. Everett, whom he had met on his travels, requesting me at the same time to take to him a set of his works as a remembrance." Willis, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

⁴⁵ "I dined at Mad. de Souza's: company, count Funchal, Gallois, Lord John, and Binda. . . . Binda mentioned an Italian epigram of Lord Holland's about *Ratto*, who was the paymaster of the witnesses against the Queen; the

not create much of a stir in the English realm of letters; that whatever recognition it obtained was limited to a narrow circle; that it was considered more as a curiosity, a *tour de force* (an Englishman writing Italian verse) than as a literary work of merit. Consequently it is doubtful that it had any direct influence on contemporary English literature.

Before accepting unreservedly this negative conclusion, however, one should evaluate these poems in relation to the influence of the other activities of the author in the Italian field. Mathias' main contribution in this field was his divulgation of and propaganda for Italian literature.⁴⁶ In 1811, John C. Eustace wrote that among the "many champions [who] have arisen to support the united cause of Taste and Italian . . . the public is much indebted to Mr. Mathias . . . who [has] struggled with unabating zeal to turn the attention of the public from the frippery and the *tinsel* of France to the sterling ore of Italy, and to place the literature of that country in the rank due to its merit, that is, next to the emanations of the Greek and Roman genius."⁴⁷ A recent student of Anglo-Italian literary relations concludes that, under the inspiration and leadership of Roscoe, "Mathias, Noble, Walker, Greswell, Shepherd, Lofft, Black . . . set themselves, shoulder to shoulder, to a well conceived task: that, to wit of improving and enriching English literature by making Englishmen what we should call, in a modern phrase, 'Italy-conscious.' Nor did they fail."⁴⁸ It is possible, although difficult to prove with documentary evidences, that Mathias' reputation as Italian poet—a reputation consecrated, as it were, by the flattering reception his poems were given in Italy—served to enhance at home his prestige as an authority on things Italian, and to make his activity in behalf of Italian culture more effective.

point of which was that in Italy the Rats paid, but in England *i Ratti sono pagati*. Gallois also alluded to some French epigram which Lord Holland had showed him, but which was radically faulty from a confusion in the meaning of the word on which the point turned. This must often happen in such school-boy attempts at foreign verse-making. Funchal mentioned Mathias as an instance of success in this way; but Binda (I was glad to find) pronounced his verse indifferent." Moore, Thomas, *Memoirs, Journal, and Correspondence* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1853), III, p. 274.

⁴⁶ Between 1802 and 1808 Mathias edited a considerable number of Italian works: *Componimenti Lirici de' più illustri Poeti d'Italia* (London: Becket, 1802), 3 vols.; 2nd ed. (Naples, 1819), 4 vols.; *Una scelta de' sonetti de' più illustri Poeti d'Italia* (1802); Crescimbeni, *Commentari intorno all'Istoria della Poesia Italiana* (1803); Tiraboschi, *Storia della Poesia Italiana* (1803); Crescimbeni, *Storia dell'Accademia degli Arcadi* (London: Becket, 1804); Menzini, *L'Arte Poetica Italiana* (1804); Monti, *La Rivoluzione Francese [Bassvilliana]* (1804); Redi, *Bacco in Toscana* (1804); Gravina, *Della ragion Poetica* (1806); *Aggiunte ai Componimenti lirici de' più illustri Poeti d'Italia* (London: Becket, 1808), 3 vols.

⁴⁷ Eustace, *Tour through Italy*, quoted in Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 361.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

If this hypothesis is correct, these poems, though devoid of literary merit, have indeed an historical importance. They are one of the many factors—by no means the most important—that brought about the renewal of interest in things Italian which inspired several literary masterpieces of the Romantic period. With these masterpieces Mathias' work stands in the same relation existing in Italian literature between the work of the literary geniuses of the Cinquecento and that of some obscure, plodding, uninspired fifteenth-century humanist who labored hard to plow a field in which later and better workers reaped a rich harvest. Perhaps Mathias himself obscurely sensed this when he wrote in the envoy of his canzone *A Guglielmo Roscoe*:

Canzon, se mai quell'onorata riva
Vedi del fiume a te non caro indarno,
Salutala nel nome in cui ti fidi:
Sei di *straniera* cetra ardito suono,
Ma pur d'amor sei dono;
E se negletta giaci e ignota all'Arno
T'è forse assai che del Tamigi ai lidi
Alzasti *prima* i trionfali gridi.

University of Wisconsin

ORIGINS OF THE UNCONSCIOUS AND SUBCONSCIOUS IN PROUST

By DOUGLAS W. ALDEN

In the interview which he gave Elie-J. Bois of the *Temps* (Nov. 12, 1913) just prior to the appearance of *Du Côté de chez Swann*, Marcel Proust defined his new work as "un essai d'une suite de romans de l'Inconscient." In the next breath he protested that "à toute époque il arrive que la littérature a tâché de se rattacher—après coup naturellement—à la philosophie régnante." He was objecting to being classed as a Bergsonian immediately after having defined his own work in the terminology of contemporary philosophy. Apparently, in his mind, the "unconscious" was such a commonplace that, in using the term, he acknowledged no allegiance to a reigning philosophy and did not impair his own originality. Nor is it my intention to detract from Proust's originality in suggesting parallels with the philosophy of his time but rather to show how, instead of being an "isolé," as his early critics called him,¹ he emerges as one of the most eloquent interpreters of a significant preoccupation of his times.

The frankness of the Bois interview is absent from the first part of Proust's work, for at that time he must have been more keenly aware of his borrowings and was striving to give the problem of the unconscious such an original artistic interpretation that he would not be guilty of *scientisme* in literature. No good symbolist wanted to be accused of that. Not until *Le Côté de Guermantes*, when he felt his reputation established, did he use the word "inconscient" with a psychological connotation. By a strange coincidence, too, the earliest use of the term in the extant correspondence does not occur until 1915 (*Cahiers Marcel Proust*, V, p. 133). Evidently, Proust was not at any time particularly preoccupied with a philosophy of the unconscious, and preferred to utilize the concept for poetic effect rather than define it. Even when calling a spade a spade, he never speculated on the fruitful subject of the unconscious, which is surprising in a work otherwise so filled with philosophical digression.

In spite of this willful or accidental dissimulation of the philosophical issues involved, Proust made of the unconscious the cornerstone and the touchstone of his work. His allegations to the contrary notwithstanding, he must originally have intended to write a Bergsonian novel based on the initial fiction that the entire work

¹ Fernand Vandérem in *Revue de Paris*, July 15, 1919.

issued from his unconscious, under stimulation from the famous cup of tea and madeleine. While his point of departure was original,² recent students of the subject³ have shown that his subsequent metaphysics are thoroughly Bergsonian. When, through later elaboration, he lost sight of the original fiction that his story flowed from a cup of tea, Proust still made his unconscious responsible for issuing the summons to literary production, which is the *dénouement* at the end of the *Temps Retrouvé*. Thus his long work still managed to end on this one essential theme of the unconscious.

In discussing his esthetics at the end of the *Temps Retrouvé*, Proust again leaves out all mention of the unconscious, which is perhaps only further proof that these pages remained essentially unchanged from the original version of his work. Here he shows his solidarity with Bergson when he says:

L'impression est pour l'écrivain ce qu'est l'expérimentation pour le savant avec cette différence que chez le savant le travail de l'intelligence précède et chez l'écrivain vient après (*TR* [2], p. 26).

He thus makes clear his anti-intellectual attitude, which is tantamount to saying that he has great faith in the gratuitous gifts of that region called the "inconscient" in other pages of his work. But he admits that these impressions "... plus précieuses sont aussi trop rares pour que l'œuvre d'art puisse être composée seulement avec elles" (*TR*[2], p. 53). The remainder of his work, he says, will consist of: (1) laws concerning passions, characters, and *mores*; (2) the events of his own life (*TR*[2], p. 53). It is apparent that the intelligence must supply the laws, and he does not explain how much of the past he will really reconstruct by involuntary remembering and how much by purely intellectual processes. Therefore Proust's work is a hybrid, a compromise between intelligence and intuition, and the question naturally arises whether the use of the unconscious in it must be considered still another fiction. Any reader of Proust will not hesitate to contradict this assertion, for he will feel, perhaps more than he can prove, that whatever his theories, Proust is constantly surprising the past within himself, dragging it triumphantly into the light, and rearranging it in the fictionalized memoirs which we know. Short of automatic writing, he actually could not have given us the products of his unconscious in a purer state. As Arnaud Dandieu pointed out (*Marcel Proust: Sa Révélation Psychologique* [1930], p. 43), every so-called "law" in Proust is rather a metaphor and nowhere does the intelligence rise to dominate the material.

² I have examined this point in an article entitled "A Note on Proust and Ribot," to appear in *Modern Language Notes*.

³ Fernand Vial, "Le Symbolisme Bergsonien du Temps dans l'Œuvre de Proust," *PMLA*, LV (Dec., 1940), pp. 1191-1212.

Although Proust disdains to advance a theory of the unconscious, close examination of his work discloses that he is indebted to numerous contemporaries for his nebulous and occasionally conflicting views of the subject. In the first place, he believes that beneath consciousness lies an area which he calls the "gisements profonds de mon sol mental" in *Du Côté de chez Swann* (I, p. 264), and later refers to openly as the "inconscient." In these strata the past is stored up in a latent state:

Même quand [Swann] ne pensait pas à la petite phrase, elle existait latente dans son esprit au même titre que certaines notions sans équivalent, comme les notions de la lumière . . . (S[2], p. 190).

From these lower regions the forgotten past may surge up if some conditions unknown to the subject prevail:

Arrivera-t-il jusqu'à la surface de ma claire conscience, ce souvenir, l'instant ancien que l'attraction d'un instant identique est venue de si loin solliciter, émouvoir, soulever tout au fond de moi? (S[1], p. 72.)

Later, in *Albertine Disparue*, in a passage which must be posterior in composition to the one quoted above from the *Temps Retrouvé*, Proust expresses his faith in the "inconscient," calling it this time by name:

Mais—et la suite le montrera davantage, comme bien des épisodes ont pu déjà l'indiquer—de ce que l'intelligence n'est pas l'instrument le plus subtil, le plus puissant, le plus approprié pour saisir le vrai, ce n'est pas une raison de plus pour commencer par l'intelligence et non par un intuitivisme de l'inconscient, par une foi aux pressentiments toute faite. C'est la vie qui peu à peu, cas par cas, nous permet de remarquer que ce qui est le plus important pour notre cœur, ou pour notre esprit, ne nous est pas appris par le raisonnement mais par des puissances autres (AD[1], p. 14).

So far, all of this could have come from Bergson, particularly the last passage. In some of his early articles in the *Revue Philosophique* Bergson wrote on the "inconscient," although the term does not occur in his first major work, *Essai sur les Données Immédiates de la Conscience* (1888). On the other hand, *Matière et Mémoire* (1896) contains not only the term but a metaphorical definition: the philosopher here compares the unconscious to an individual thinking of the existence of a town, all of which he cannot see although this does not prevent the town from existing (p. 154). Again, in his *Evolution Créatrice* (1907; p. 5), he states that the total past is within the unconscious. But, as André Joussain (*Revue Philosophique* [May, 1911]) so aptly observed at the time, the "storehouse" type of unconscious is an anomalous element in Bergson's

philosophy: "Admettre, en particulier, que notre passé subsiste intégralement sans que nous en ayons conscience, c'est le soustraire à la *durée réelle*." Nevertheless, the notion is in Bergson, so we cannot eliminate him as a possible influence in Proust's use of the unconscious.

Proust, however, has much more to say about the unconscious than Bergson. Sometimes he feels that his unconscious carries him back over the channels of heredity to "un âge à jamais révolu de ma vie primitive" (*S*[1], p. 13). Again he seems to have a vague notion of the purposive unconscious activity of the nervous centers when he refers to "ces plus anciens, plus autochtones habitants" (*S*[2], p. 210) functioning somewhere in the soul of Swann to calm his mental suffering, or when he says that Albertine, sleeping, is animated by the unconscious life of vegetables (*P*[1], p. 93).⁴ Frequently he ascribes to the body the ability to remember situations:

Mon corps, trop engourdi pour remuer, cherchait, d'après la forme de sa fatigue, à repérer la position de ses membres pour en induire la direction du mur, la place des meubles, pour reconstruire et pour nommer la demeure où il se trouvait (*S*[1], p. 15).

Elsewhere he says that consciousness is at the mercy of the unconscious: "... s'il y a des transitions entre l'oubli et le souvenir, alors, ces transitions sont inconscientes" (*SGII* [1], p. 31). On another occasion he attributes to the region of the unconscious, without naming it this time, the ability to perform some of the normal functions of consciousness:

Tandis que je lisais ces mots, mon système nerveux recevait avec une diligence admirable la nouvelle qu'il m'arrivait un grand bonheur. Mais mon âme, c'est-à-dire moi-même, et en somme le principal intéressé, l'ignorait encore (*JF*[1], p. 102).

Many volumes later there is a similar example, with the "inconscient" mentioned by name:

Chaque fois que j'entendais ouvrir une porte, j'avais ce tressaillement que ma grand'mère avait pendant son agonie chaque fois que je sonnais. Je ne croyais pas qu'elle [Albertine] sortit sans me l'avoir dit, mais c'était mon inconscient qui pensait cela, comme c'était l'inconscient de ma grand'mère qui palpitait aux coups de sonnette, alors qu'elle n'avait plus sa connaissance (*P*[2], p. 224).

⁴ Cf. also this passage from *TR* (1), p. 8: "Ma mémoire avait perdu l'amour d'Albertine, mais il me semble qu'il y ait une mémoire des membres, pâle et stérile imitation de l'autre, qui vive plus longtemps comme certains animaux et végétaux inintelligents vivent plus longtemps que l'homme."

At one point Proust offers an example of the theory of "unconscious cerebration":

Ces impressions multiples, la mémoire n'est pas capable de nous en fournir immédiatement le souvenir. Mais celui-ci se forme en elle peu à peu et à l'égard des œuvres qu'on a entendues deux ou trois fois, on est comme le collégien qui a relu à plusieurs reprises avant de s'endormir une leçon qu'il ne croyait pas savoir et qui la récite par cœur le lendemain matin (*JF* [1], p. 142).⁵

The above notions about the activities of the unconscious are not to be found in Bergson. They come rather from Eduard von Hartmann's *Philosophie des Unbewussten* (1869). For this German philosopher the unconscious was not a storehouse but a teleological force existing wherever there is life; Bergson, who never mentions Hartmann, expressed the concept more subtly with his *élan vital*. By a strange contradiction of terms, which it is beyond our province to examine, Hartmann endowed his unconscious with all the attributes of consciousness, and thus the unconscious force which he located in the nerve centers came to have for him the ability to perform purposive acts and even to reason. For Hartmann, memory was only one of the numerous bodily functions over which the unconscious had absolute control. It is these curious theories of Hartmann which have somehow sifted down to the work of Proust to emerge in this semi-metaphorical form.

It was, in fact, Hartmann who, through Nolen's translation in 1877,⁶ introduced the notion of the unconscious into France.⁷ Because Hartmann affected an empirical attitude, some French phi-

⁵ In *P*(2), p. 189, the same process of unconscious cerebration occurs when Marcel, through the "sommeil fort vivant et créateur de l'inconscient," is enabled to complete an expression which Albertine began but refused to finish.

⁶ Edouard de Hartmann, *Philosophie de l'Inconscient*, traduite de l'allemand et précédée d'une introduction par D. Nolen, professeur à la faculté de Montpellier (Paris, 1877).

⁷ Pierre Martino, in his *Parnasse et Symbolisme*, makes Hartmann responsible for introducing the unconscious into France. I have found no significant evidence to contradict this statement. In his *De l'Intelligence* (1870), vol. I, p. 243, Taine speaks of "un monde psychologique que la conscience n'atteint pas" but says nothing more on the subject. Before that A. Gratacap, in his *Théorie de la Mémoire* (1866), had discussed "idées inconscientes" in Leibniz and Bouillier (the only French philosopher up to that time who had borrowed the notion from Leibniz, according to Gratacap) but had rejected them in favor of a theory of habit formation. Also, in his *Rapport sur le Progrès de la Physiologie Générale* (1867), Claude Bernard had recognized the ability of a nerve cell to translate a stimulus immediately into motor activity, calling the power "sensibilité inconsciente" (for complete discussion of this point, see articles by Dumont mentioned below). Doubtless other evidence could be advanced to show that a vague notion of an unconscious existed in France before the translation of Hartmann; this would be inevitable, because the "unconscious" itself has a long family tree, going back to Leibniz by way of German

losophers at the time called upon France to reject this "nouveau fléau de la pensée" (M. Renouvier in *Critique Philosophique* [Feb. 12, 1874]) which had descended from barbaric, empirical Germany. Soon, however, since Hartmann was more metaphysical than empirical, he became one of the spiritual ancestors of the symbolist movement. In 1883 Alfred Fouillée introduced the general public to the notion of the unconscious in two articles in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (Oct. 15 and Nov. 1); he says that the unconscious has become the preferred object of psychological research and suggests to his readers that, to become aware of their unconscious, they make the following experiment:

Dans la sphère intérieure et sombre du moi, au moment où elle semble vide de sentiments, de pensées et d'actes, projetez un rayon d'intelligence comme dans une chambre obscure un faisceau de lumière, et vous verrez se mouvoir en vous un monde de petits sentiments ou de petites perceptions.

In philosophy by that time the unconscious had become a commonplace⁸ and, when shorn of its metaphysics by Colsenet (*La Vie Inconsciente de l'Esprit* [1880]) and reduced to simple psychological terms, it had already ceased to resemble the metaphysical "unconscious" of Hartmann. In 1889 Emile Caro (*Pessimisme au XIX^e Siècle*) was able to say that no one any longer took seriously this "fantastique personnage de l'inconscient," by which he meant only Hartmann's metaphysical unconscious, for the other generalized unconscious was now firmly planted in the French mind.⁹ The unconscious had become again what it seems to have been originally with the German successors of Leibniz, a mysterious ill-defined region over which consciousness has no control.

If Proust had done no more than mention the unconscious, it would still be necessary to regard this as an indirect influence of

philosophy (in fact, there is no need to stop with Leibniz, for Hartmann finds the notion among the Greek philosophers). But the fact remains that France became truly aware of its unconscious only after Hartmann caused the idea to crystallize. However, 1877, the date of the Nolen translation, is not the beginning of Hartmann's influence. The following articles appeared before that date: Léon Dumont in *Revue Scientifique*, Sept. 7 and Dec. 28, 1872, and five articles in the same review from 1873 to 1875, later republished in his *Théorie Scientifique de la Sensibilité* (1875); M. Renouvier in *Critique Philosophique* (Feb. 12, 1874 and following; seven articles); Albert Réville in *Revue des Deux Mondes* (Oct. 1, 1874).

⁸ Cf. Alfred Fouillée, *Science Sociale Contemporaine* (1882); Francisque Bouiller, *La Vraie Conscience* (1882); Théodule Ribot, *Les Maladies de la Mémoire* (1885) (as well as Ribot's other works culminating in *La Vie Inconsciente et les Mouvements* [1914]).

⁹ Articles on Hartmann which had appeared during this time were: G. Sèailles in *Revue Philosophique* (Nov., 1877); Paul Janet in *Revue des Deux Mondes* (June 1, 1877); Ad. Franck in *Journal des Savants* (July, Aug., Oct., 1877).

Hartmann from whom the French view of the unconscious stems. But the connection, as demonstrated above, is actually closer than that, although there is no direct evidence that Proust ever read Hartmann or any of the treatises based on the philosophy of the unconscious. Both Proust and Bergson seem either to avoid systematically all reference to Hartmann or, what is more likely, are not particularly aware that what they themselves say on the subject of the unconscious is of German origin. Hartmann's ideas, already deformed but not unrecognizable, were widely diffused among French intellectuals.

The type of unconscious mentioned above might be termed "philosophical"; there is in Proust's work a second type, not directly related to the first and founded on observation rather than theory, which might be called "psychological."

Proust commentators have long been accustomed to praise his mobile psychology based on the theory of the multiplicity of aspects of a single character. In *A la Recherche du Temps Perdu* there is scarcely a character, including Marcel himself, who does not possess a secondary *moi*:

... mais il y avait, au moins, deux Gilbertes. Les deux natures, de son père et sa mère, ne faisaient pas que se mêler en elle; elles se la disputaient, et encore ce serait parler inexactement et donnerait à supposer qu'une troisième Gilberte souffrait pendant ce temps-là d'être la proie des deux autres (*JF*[1], p. 192).

Within himself, when in a less serious mood, Marcel discovers a succession of "petits bonshommes" (*P*[1], p. 13); sometimes his psychology borders on the absurd, as when he must inform the various autonomous *moi* within him of the departure of Albertine (*AD*[1], p. 25); again it becomes exceedingly subtle, profound and moving when, for example, the old *moi* which loved his grandmother (*SGII*[1], p. 179) or Gilberte or Albertine returns to the surface.

This particular ramification of the problem of the unconscious activity in human beings does not go back to Hartmann by any visible link. Around Jean-Martin Charcot at the Salpêtrière a new and distinctly French school of psychology had grown up. After his monumental studies in neurology, Charcot had turned in 1878 to a clinical study of hysteria and, for the first time in the history of reputable science, had used hypnotism in his experiments. As a clinical physician, Charcot did not philosophize,¹⁰ and refused to express himself on "la nature et le mécanisme de ces phénomènes"

¹⁰ I have been unable to find in Charcot's work a single case where he uses the word "inconscient."

(*Œuvres Complètes*, IX, p. 259). It was left to Pierre Janet, the most famous of Charcot's disciples, to advance the theory¹¹ in his *Automatisme Psychologique* (1889), that acts accomplished in catalepsy or hypnotism could not rightfully be called "unconscious" but were evidence of autonomous consciousnesses existing within the same individual, in other words, "split personalities." Coining a new word, Janet called this the "subconscient." Although intended to cover only these cases of abnormal secondary consciousness, the term was quickly confused with "inconscient" and has almost superseded it in France.¹² Even Proust succumbed to this tendency in the first volume of the *Temps Retrouvé* (p. 230) when he spoke of the "subconscient" of M. de Charlus functioning during his dotage to change the course of his conversation.

At the time that Proust's work was in gestation, the experiments of Charcot and his group were firing the popular imagination as well as that of specialists;¹³ semi-learned popularizations were appearing in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, the *Revue Nouvelle*, the *Mercure de France*, the *Revue de Paris* and other periodicals. In the *Revue Nouvelle* for March, 1899, Comte Charles de Moüy deplored the interest which philosophers, historians, dramatists and novelists were taking in the unconscious:

On explore avec une curiosité souvent fatigante la forêt touffue et sombre; on en dénonce les moindres détours et les plus insignifiants arbustes; on en décrit la flore et la faune, puis les insectes et les mousses, parfois les grains de sable et les atômes.

It was the discoveries of French psychiatry particularly which had given the whole problem of the unconscious (or subconscious) such prominence. Proust did not escape the general trend.

In the question of the subconscious as well it is impossible, first of all, to eliminate the possibility of an influence of Bergson on Proust. Some of Bergson's earliest articles dealt with hypnotism, and in his first major work, *Essai sur les Données Immédiates de la*

¹¹ Janet did not claim authorship of the notion and mentioned the previous work of Dr. Despine (*Etude Scientifique sur le Somnambulisme* [1880]). Janet's competitor and fellow Charcot disciple, Alfred Binet, whose *Altérations de la Personnalité* appeared in 1892, gave credit to Taine for first noting the phenomenon of "double consciousness" (cf. *De l'Intelligence* [1870], pp. 180, 184; also pref. to 1878 ed., p. 16).

¹² In his *Essai sur l'Imagination Créatrice* (1900), Ribot uses the terms interchangeably.

¹³ Hypnotism was a popular science. In 1886 the *Revue de l'Hypnotisme* was founded; from 1879 to 1903 ninety-five books appeared on hypnotism distributed as follows: 1879: 1; 1881-4: 12; 1885-9: 32; 1890-4: 20; 1895-9: 23; 1900-3: 7; from 1800 to 1879 ten books on hypnotism were published (compiled from Benjamin Rand, *Bibliography of Philosophy, Psychology, and Cognitive Subjects* [1905]).

Conscience (p. 127), he mentioned the subject. In fact, Bergson seems to bridge the gap between Proust and the psychiatrists by applying the theory of double consciousness to normal human beings (*ibid.*, pp. 97, 128, 130), trying to reconcile this segmentation with his own belief in the unity of the individual:

Ainsi se forme un second moi qui recouvre le premier, un moi dont l'existence a des moments distincts, dont les états se détachent les uns des autres et s'expriment sans peine par des mots. Et qu'on ne nous reproche pas ici de dédoubler la personne, d'y introduire sous une autre forme la multiplicité que nous avons exclue d'abord (*ibid.*, p. 105).

In the last analysis Proust, too, claims to find some unity in the personality in his mystic communion with his essence and the essence of things. Since this is rightly called the most Bergsonian part of his work, it is not unlikely that he is indebted to Bergson for the attempt at unity after segmentation. Very probably he owes likewise to Bergson the idea of applying the double-personality theory to normal human beings, although Janet (*L'Automatisme Psychologique*, p. 323) had already foreseen this possibility and, admittedly, this application is only a logical outgrowth of the theory itself.

While Bergson may have suggested to Proust the final unification of the personality, he need not be considered the source of the original idea of segmentation. Proust seems to have been very interested in the developments in contemporary psychology. He mentions Charcot's name five times in his work and expresses an opinion two of these times: on the first occasion (*SGII*[2], p. 232) he speaks of him with admiration, on the second (*SGII*[3], p. 177) with contempt, although this time he puts the words in the mouth of the Duc de Guermantes, a character whom he is accustomed to satirize. Proust's admiration for Charcot is readily understood since his father, Dr. Adrien Proust, studied at the Faculty of Medicine at the same time as the eminent psychiatrist (Dr. Robert Le Masle, *Le Professeur Adrien Proust*, p. 34) and based his *agrégation* thesis on some of the work of Prévost and his own friend Cotard¹⁴ at the Salpêtrière (*ibid.*, p. 35). Although the name of Pierre Janet does not figure in the *Recherche*, it is noteworthy that Dr. Proust communicated to the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques in 1890 a memoir "sur un cas d'automatisme psychologique, contribution intéressante à l'étude de ce qu'on devait appeler le dédoublement de la personnalité" (*ibid.*, p. 35). Marcel Proust offers in his work at least a passing knowledge of psychiatry. In *La Prisonnière* there are references to an insane poet (*P*[2], p. 8), to the reëducation of hys-

¹⁴ Note that Proust's character is spelled "Cottard."

teria patients (*ibid.*, p. 35), and to doctors inviting hysteria patients to a ball (*ibid.*, p. 56). In *Les Plaisirs et les Jours*, Baldassare Silvande is dying of a paralysis which seems to be a form of hysteria. Probably Tante Léonie in the *Recherche* would be classified as hysterical, although Molière would call her a hypochondriac. However, in passing, it is necessary to remark that, on the whole, abnormality in a medical sense has no place in the *Recherche* except for the confraternity of Sodomy and Gomorrha which Proust, of course, does not consider abnormal. Perhaps the most abnormal character is Marcel himself, as we gather from this oft-quoted statement which, significantly, follows closely a reference to Charcot: "Tout ce que nous connaissons de grand vient des nerveux" (*GI*, p. 272).

Psychiatric methods also inspired Proust. There is a scene in *Le Côté de Guermantes* where a monk, pretending to pray, spies on Marcel through his fingers—like an "aliéniste," Proust adds (*GII*, p. 30). He was then well aware of the method of observation practised by the psychiatrists, and it is legitimate to assume that this is the origin of his now famous method of psychological observation. Like an "aliéniste" Proust spied on his characters, hoping to discover from their *lapsi linguae* that other *moi* which they were consciously or unconsciously attempting to conceal. Most of the time, however, it is really not a question of penetrating to the subconscious but of piercing the veneer of polite society to discover the motives which the character is consciously dissimulating. Readers of Proust will recall how Swann tormented Odette and Marcel Albertine to rend from them their innermost secrets, noting all of their inadvertencies, comparing, analyzing, and still never being sure of their true nature. Doubtless this was not for Proust so much a literary method as a practical system which he applied in real life situations. Even granted that he was by nature suspicious, if contemporary psychology had not impressed him with the existence of an "unconscious" or a secondary and tertiary *moi* in individuals, he would not have made such a concentrated effort to penetrate the outer crust of his victims.

Occasionally, though much less frequently than later psychoanalysts, the French psychiatrists used dreams in the analysis of mental ailments. For Proust, dreams are another means of penetrating to the unconscious, as they were for Hartmann originally and as they were also for Proust's contemporaries, the symbolists and their progeny. From the very first line of *Du Côté de chez Swann* it is clear that Proust intends to give his work the *ambiance* of a dream, for he begins:

Longtemps, je me suis couché de bonne heure. Parfois, à peine ma bougie éteinte, mes yeux se fermaient si vite que je n'avais pas le temps de me dire: "Je m'endors" (*S*[1], p. 11).

He seems to be taking literally what Bergson had said: "Laissons-nous aller . . . ; au lieu d'agir, rêvons" (*Evolution Créatrice*, p. 220). Frequently Proust exhibits a radical incapacity to distinguish between dream and reality and even insists on one occasion that his dream is clearer than reality (*AD*[1], p. 196; *AD*[2], pp. 61, 144; *TR*[2], p. 74). In his esthetic, dreams are an important element, as he tells us in the *Temps Retrouvé*:

Je pensai qu'ils [les rêves] viendraient quelquefois rapprocher ainsi de moi des vérités, des impressions, que mon effort seul, ou même les rencontres de la nature ne me présentaient pas . . . (*TR*[2], p. 75).

Thus dreams are for him the subject of poetic rather than scientific truth. In most cases he observes his dreams and is intrigued, but seeks no explanation, for he seems to consider them frequently as "périodes passagères de folie" (*AD*[1], p. 198). For example, he fails to explain why, in his dreams, Charlus is 110 years old and has just given his mother a clack on the ear (*SGII*[3], p. 40), why M^{me} Verdurin has spent five billions on a bouquet of flowers (*idem.*), why Albertine's chin has crumbled like chewed marble (*AD*[1], p. 197), or why his father's discourse on his grandmother ends: "cerfs, cerfs, Francis Jammes, fourchette" (*SGII*[1], p. 185). In a similar manner he notes, but does not explain, common dream situations in which the dreamer is incapable of locomotion, or speech, or discovers himself walking naked (*GI*, p. 131).

On the other hand, there are a number of dreams in Proust which have the same catalytic effect as the tea and madeleine in liberating the past from the unconscious. Swann discovers the old *moi* which loved Odette in a dream (*S*[2], p. 230); Marcel has the same experience with Albertine (*AD*[1], p. 197), as does Saint-Loup with Rachel (*GI*, p. 111); and Marcel's grandmother comes to life several times in dreams (*SGII*[1], pp. 183, 208). In some cases, Proust analyzes dreams with what seem to be the rudiments of a psychoanalytic approach. At the end of *Un Amour de Swann* Odette appears to Swann in a dream (*S*[2], p. 230); on waking Swann analyzes some of the elements, deducing that Napoleon III in his dream represents Forcheville and that the young man with the fez is an aspect of himself. In another instance, having dreamed of a young man with an unrecognizable Spanish name, Marcel proceeds to interpret his dream:

A la fois Joseph et Pharaon, je me mis à interpréter mon rêve. Je savais que dans beaucoup d'entre eux il ne faut tenir compte ni [sic] de l'apparence des personnes lesquelles peuvent être déguisées et avoir interchangeé leurs visages, comme ces saints mutilés des cathédrales que des archéologues ignorants ont refaits, en mettant sur le corps de l'un la tête de l'autre, et en mêlant les attributs et les noms. Ceux que les êtres portent dans un rêve peuvent nous abuser. La personne que nous aimons doit y être reconnue seulement à la force de la douleur éprouvée. La mienne m'apprit que devenue pendant mon sommeil un jeune homme, la personne dont la fausseté récente me faisait encore mal était Gilberte (*JF*[2], p. 43).

In this passage Proust says "Je savais" as though he had some knowledge of dream interpretation. In fact, A. Maury's *Le Sommeil et les Rêves* (1878), and J. Delboeuf's work by the same name (1885), contain examples of the survival of the past in dreams, the interchange of forms, and the splitting of the ego into various dream characters. Although there is no need to assume that Proust read these two books in particular, it is clear that his interest in dreams, amateurish though it may be, is due to the contemporary emphasis.

Inevitably the mention of dreams brings into the discussion the name of Sigmund Freud. We are now accustomed to statements like that of Dandieu: "Nourri de Bergson et—pourquoi pas?—de Freud, autant que d'Anatole France et de Ruskin . . ." (*op. cit.*, p. 9).¹⁵ Why shouldn't Proust be "nourished" by Freud since there are so many resemblances? The chief objection is that it is highly improbable that Proust ever read any Freud. On this subject, we have the affirmation which Jacques Rivière made in 1924:

. . . je sais que Proust ne connaissait de Freud que le nom et peut-être le sens général de sa doctrine. Mais il n'avait été informé de l'un comme de l'autre que tout récemment, et je peux affirmer qu'aucune influence n'en était résultée sur son œuvre (*Quelques Progrès dans l'Etude du Cœur Humain: Freud et Proust* [1927], p. 23).

Dr. Charles Blondel (*La Psychographie de Marcel Proust* [1932], p. 189) explains further that Proust could not have known Freud in time to undergo an influence because French translations of the latter's work did not appear until 1920. On the other hand, that does not mean that Freud was completely unknown in France before that date. On the contrary, a number of articles appeared in French learned journals before the war.¹⁶ Yet among the French psychia-

¹⁵ In his *Introduction to Proust* (1940), p. 281, Derrick Leon asserts that Proust was "well acquainted with the work of Freud."

¹⁶ N. Kostyleff in *Revue Philosophique* (Dec., 1910, Nov., 1911, April, 1912), in *Archives Internationales de Neurologie* (Jan., 1911), and in *Journal de Psychologie* (March-April, 1911); A. Maeder in *Année Philosophique* (1912); E. Régis and A. Hesnard in *L'Encéphale* (April 10, May 10, 1913); Dr. Paul-Louis Ladame in *L'Encéphale* (Jan. 10, Feb. 10, 1913); Pierre Janet in *Journal de Psychologie* (Jan.-Feb., Mar.-Apr., 1914).

trists there was only antipathy to Freud, as the latter explained himself in 1914 (*Collected Papers*, I, pp. 287-359). At the International Congress of Medicine held in London in 1913, Janet attacked psychoanalysis as a misappropriation of the principles of French psychiatry (*Journal de Psychologie* [Jan.-Feb., Mar.-Apr., 1914]). However unjust the attack may have been, the statement remains essentially true, for Freud studied under Charcot, of whom he spoke with respect (*op. cit.*, I, p. 12), and borrowed inevitably from his predecessors. In Proust's work, there is no reason to infer that Freud contributed the notions of the "unconscious," "subconscious," and *lapsi linguae* or that he directed Proust's attention to dreams, for it is more reasonable to assume that Proust absorbed these ideas from his French contemporaries.

Nevertheless there remain some striking resemblances between Proust and Freud which it is more difficult to explain away. Freud was the first to emphasize the dynamic qualities of the subconscious with his theory that a *trauma*, buried in the unconscious, is capable of directing the activity of an individual. In her *Ame Proustienne* (1929), Marie-Anne Cochet pointed to the famous passage of the mother's good-night kiss at the beginning of *Du Côté de chez Swann* as the *trauma* which explains all of Proust's unfortunate existence. At the end of the *Temps Retrouvé* Proust had said: "C'était de cette soirée, où ma mère avait abdiqué, que datait la mort lente de ma grand-mère, le déclin de ma volonté, de ma santé" (*TR*[2], p. 258). The resemblance to Freud is striking, but it may be accidental, for this is the only case I am aware of in the entire work where anything like a *trauma* appears. Proust definitely does not set out systematically on the trail of a *trauma* when he begins to analyze; as Dr. Blondel so aptly remarks:

Le jeu des associations, menant à tout, ne conduit nulle part, puisque n'importe quoi permet d'aboutir n'importe où, et la pièce la plus essentielle de la méthode psychanalytique ne se trouve donc plus bonne à rien (*op. cit.*, p. 189).

Freud's first capital work was his *Traumdeutung* in 1900. Although Proust has no system of dream analysis, there are still elements of his treatment of dreams which might be called Freudian. A number of the dreams in his work seem to apply the Freudian principle that a dream is wish-fulfilment. Sometimes it is mere physical desire as when "une femme naissait pendant mon sommeil d'une fausse position de ma cuisse" (*S*[1], p. 13), which he later accepts as proof of the subjectivity of love (*TR*[2], p. 70). Sometimes it is a combination of wishing and regret when he dreams repeatedly of his dead grandmother (*SGII* [1], p. 183, 208). Again

it is one of his childish aspirations towards the Middle Ages and Guermantes' way when he dreams a synthetic dream of "une cité gothique au milieu d'une mer aux flots immobilisés comme sur un vitrail" (*GI*, p. 131). Freud's concept of the "dream day," the notion that the dream is directly attached to the events of the period just before sleeping, is frequently the explanation for dreams in Proust's work; Swann, for example, is so afraid he will voluntarily leave Odette that he expresses the fear that same night in a dream (*S*[2], p. 195). Like Freud, Proust observes too that elements of the dream sometimes carry one far back into past events, frequently to childhood. Marcel describes this happening in a dream: "... j'avais... retrouvé telle de mes terreurs enfantines comme celle que mon grand-oncle me tirât par mes boucles" (*S*[1], p. 13). Thus Proust confirms many of Freud's theories about dreams without letting fall the least remark to indicate that he is aware himself of any principles of psychoanalysis.

On the question of sexuality Proust seems also to find a common meeting ground with Freud, for both agree that this is one of the prime motives of human behavior. Madame Cochet (*op. cit.*) has discussed at length how the music of Vinteuil, the high point in Proust's esthetic scheme, is tied to the theme of sexuality, and every reader of Proust realizes the importance of inversion in explaining many of the characters and episodes of the book. Proust differs with Freud, however, in concentrating on homosexuality, which the Viennese specialist refuses to consider as anything but one of the numerous perversions with which humanity is afflicted (Freud, *A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis*, p. 270). Jacques Rivière (*op. cit.*) sees a further resemblance between Proust's theory of love and Freud's *libido* which is defined as "the investments of energy directed by the ego towards the object of its sexual desires" (Freud, *op. cit.*, p. 359). Proust recognizes a predisposition to love before the prospective lover directs his attentions to any particular individual. But this is the same "subjective" theory of love which is found in Hartmann and other sources and which can also be explained by Proust's general subjective attitude. Along the same lines, Dr. Blondel (*op. cit.*, p. 174) finds an Oedipus complex in Marcel, but once again there is no proof that Proust has any knowledge of the psychological principles in thus setting forth his weakness. On the other hand, Dr. Blondel finds a striking similarity between Proust's and Freud's theory of the evolution of the sexual instinct; in the *Temps Retrouvé* (p. 21) Proust seems to agree with Freud that (in the words of Dr. Blondel)

... l'instinct sexuel subit une évolution et, pour dire la chose d'un mot, avant de devenir normal, s'il le devient, passe par toutes les perversions (*op. cit.*, p. 176).

There are other random resemblances. Some observers have claimed to find the Freudian "censor" in Proust's insistence on the censorship imposed by society, which causes a character to dissimulate his real nature. If Proust had really known the Freudian principle, he would not have given it this vague application because, applied correctly, it is one of the most intriguing and far-reaching of Freud's theories.

Doubtless, we have not exhausted the similarities between Proust and Freud, for they both compiled so many tomes of observations on the same limitless subject: human nature. But until proof can be presented that Proust read Freud or some commentary on his work, it is necessary to conclude, particularly in view of the inconclusive resemblances, that a common point of departure plus a similarity of interests accounts for the parallelism of their discoveries.

In the history of the unconscious (or subconscious), psychoanalysis is commonly represented as the next step after French psychiatry. It would therefore seem more correct to call Proust an ancestor rather than a contemporary of Freud if no filiation is understood, for Proust in his own independent and original way was a member of the French school of psychiatrists. In this latter case there is no need to speak of parallelism since Proust unquestionably received his inspiration directly from the contemporary experimentalists. On a philosophical plane he also inherited, possibly by direct contact in reading but more likely by contamination from the intellectual atmosphere of the century, many of the theories of Hartmann. It is impossible to conceive of Proust composing his work in another period of history. In another age he might have written *Essais*, *Mémoires*, or *Confessions*; instead he wrote his *Recherche* which bears as much the imprint of his times as that of his own individual genius.

Texas Technological College

A GUATEMALAN TRANSLATOR OF HORACE

By MARTIN E. ERICKSON

Eduardo de la Parra¹ remarks that to translate poetry from a foreign language line by line and word by word is not to translate at all, for although the length of line and general compactness is retained, the soul of the poem is lost. In this theory of translation he follows Menéndez y Pelayo very closely, especially when he observes that "Cuando el traductor suprime, modifica, y agrega a sabor, lo que hace es *parafrasear*, bordar sobre el mismo tema en telar ajeno, componer en colaboración forzada."²

It should have been evident to both the Chilean and the Spaniard that many translations of necessity must be paraphrastic, even though some good translations occur in which the translator has caught both the spirit and the meter of the original. Menéndez y Pelayo seems to think that paraphrase is a vicious habit, indicative that the translator lacks knowledge of the original language or that he is deficient as a poet. The chance, of course, exists that he may be right on both counts in particular cases.

There is one particular case in which the great Spanish critic can well be challenged in his theory, and that is in the case of José Batres y Montúfar of Guatemala. Of the latter Menéndez y Pelayo says:

Batres tradujo una oda de Horacio, pero no le imita nunca. La única poesía suya, propiamente lírica, que merece citarse, aunque esté muy por bajo de sus leyendas, es, de todo punto, personal e íntima.³

Again speaking of Batres y Montúfar he notes

... una traducción de la oda 5.a del libro I de Horacio, *Quis multa gracilis*, hecha por D. José Batres y Montúfar, poeta de Guatemala. ... Es elegante, aunque muy desleída y parafrástica.⁴

At least one Guatemalan critic has risen to contest that judgment. He is Antonio Batres Jáuregui, a countryman of Batres y Montúfar, and a latinist of no mean ability himself. As a critic of poetry he well deserves attention, for he showed that he could com-

¹ *Odas de Horacio* (Santiago de Chile, 1899), p. 4.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Antología de Poetas Hispano-americanos*, vol. II, p. 262.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 205.

pete with the great Spaniard easily enough.⁵ In comparing the ode of Horace with the translation by Batres y Montúfar, Menéndez y Pelayo left himself open to adverse criticism, for his own translation of the same ode lends itself to a comparison with that of Batres y Montúfar. Batres Jáuregui, never tiring of inveighing against the great Montañés, has this to say about his rival's ability to judge and to write poetry:

No basta ser hombre muy leído, versado hasta lo sumo en la historia, verdadera o convencional, de todos los santos padres, para juzgar siempre con acierto a los poetas, ni menos para escribir poesías que tal nombre merecieran. Los versos del autor de la '*Antología*,' están lejos de ser buenos; son mucho más duros y forzados que los que él critica del guatemalteco D. Juan Diéguez. Sea dicho todo esto en legítimo abono de una de nuestras mas simpáticas glorias nacionales, aunque pequemos de irreverentes con el célebre erudito peninsular.⁶

And in the footnote he says, with reference to the poetry of Menéndez y Pelayo,

para que juzgue el lector, vamos a copiar la traducción de la oda a Pirra, de Menéndez y Pelayo, que figura en el libro entitulado '*Horacio en España*,' y la que hizo de la misma oda D. José Batres, calificada por ese crítico español de desleída y parafrástica. La de Menéndez Pelayo es así. . . .⁷

In order that the reader may compare the Latin poem with the two translations, I quote it first.

Ad Pyrrham

Quis multa gracilis te puer in rosa
 Perfusus liquidis urget odoribus
 Grato, Pyrrha, sub antro?
 Cui flavam religas comam,

 Simplex munditiis? Heu quoties fidem
 Mutatosque deos flebit, et aspera
 Nigris aequora ventis
 Emirabitur insolens,

⁵ Cf. *El Castellano en América*, in which the Guatemalan takes Menéndez y Pelayo severely to task for his judgments on Spanish-American poetry. As a polemist and critic, Batres Jáuregui does not suffer by comparison with his Spanish rival, and he proves himself a more enlightened observer, too.

⁶ *Literatos Guatemaltecos*, Landívar e Irisarri, p. 31.

⁷ *Ibid.*, footnote.

Qui nunc te fruitur credulus aurea;
 Qui semper vacuum, semper amabilem
 Sperat, nescius aurae
 Fallacis. Miseri, quibus

Intentata nites! Me tabula sacer
 Votiva paries indicat uvida
 Suspendisse potenti
 Vestimenta maris deo.

Menéndez y Pelayo translates the Ode thus:

¿Qué tierno niño entre purpúreas rosas,
 Bañado en oloroso ungüento,
 Te estrecha, Pirra, en regalada gruta,
 Cabe su seno?
 ¿Por quién sencilla y á la paz graciosa
 Enlazas las flexibles trenzas?
 ¡Ay cuando llore tu mudanza el triste
 Y tu inclemencia!
 Mar agitado por los negros vientos
 Serás al confiado amante,
 Que siempre alegre y amorosa siempre
 Piensa encontrarte.
 Misero aquel á quien propicia mires!
 Yo libre de tormenta brava,
 Al dios del mar ya suspendi en ofrenda
 Veste mojada.

And Batres y Montúfar:

¿Quién es ¡oh Pirra! el doncel
 Que entre perfumes y flores
 Te dice blandos amores
 En la gruta del verjel?
 ¿A quién con nardos y rosas
 Tejes el blando cabello?
 ¿En qué nueva faz el sello
 Del ardiente labio posas?
 ¡Cuántas veces, inocente
 Ese que en tu fe confía,
 Llorará la boca impía
 Que ora acaricia su frente!
 Hoy se goza en la beldad
 Que tanta dicha le ofrece,
 En la calma se adormece
 Sin temer la tempestad.
 En plácido mar navega,
 El aura su sien alhaga,
 Y al soplo del aura vaga

La blanca vela despliega.
 ¡ Pobre niño, que no sabe
 Cómo se torna improvisa
 En huracán esa brisa,
 Ahora tan mansa y süave!
 En breve el dormido mar
 Alzarse verá tremendo:
 Turbias, hinchadas, hirviendo,
 Las olas verá rodar.
 Ya la tormenta pasó,
 Testigo el muro sagrado,
 En que el vestido mojado
 Al dios del mar dediqué.

Even if we agree that the Spaniard's version follows closer the Latin original, we must agree with Batres Jáuregui that the verse is a bit pedestrian. Certainly by following Horace with more linguistic fidelity, Menéndez y Pelayo has avoided his *bête noire* of paraphrase, but in spirit he is clearly deficient. In this respect Batres y Montúfar is immeasurably superior to the Spaniard; and the grace and flexibility of his poem far exceeds that of the Spanish critic. The opening and closing lines are especially effective, and evince the banter and whimsey that is so characteristic of Horace, qualities which Menéndez y Pelayo himself ascribes to Batres. If Batres had chosen a meter closer to that of the Latin poem, he could no doubt have condensed his poem from the thirty-two lines he wrote to the sixteen which Menéndez y Pelayo used, following Horace; but the Spanish critic is certainly not justified in his remarks that Batres' poem is "desleída" even if it is "parafrástica."

Of the six Spanish translations of this ode which Eduardo de la Barra gives, including his own and that of Menéndez y Pelayo, not one can match the translation of Batres, in spite of the fact that four are but sixteen lines long, one twenty, the other twenty-seven, and that they follow the Latin quite closely. The Chilean translator adds that

entre todas, la traducción de Menéndez y Pelayo ha sido elegida como "la mejor del mejor" para el "*Horacio traducido por ingenios españoles*." Razón es ésta de sobra para que aquí la prefiramos, aún cuando no la creamos un dechado.⁸

In spite of Menéndez y Pelayo's judgment concerning Batres' translation of Horace, I am sure that modern readers will side with Batres Jáuregui in his preference for his countryman's version of the Latin poet, for there can be no doubt that the verses of the great Spaniard are too academic for lovers of poetry.

Northwestern University

⁸ De la Barra, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

REVIEWS

Fulke Greville's "Caelica": An Evaluation. By WILLIAM FROST.
Brattleboro, Vermont: Privately printed, 1942. Pp. vi + 62.
\$1.00.

Mr. Frost's modest little study attempts two things: to free Greville's "sonnet" sequence from the incubus of condescending association and comparison with Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella* and "to discuss fully . . . the literary relationship between Greville and Sidney." In neither is he wholly successful. His elucidations of Greville's "close mysterious way of writing" (Lamb) are generally plausible, though hardly new or original. A brief biographical sketch (pp. 2-4), adds no new information; and, wisely, the author makes no attempt to identify the Myra-Caelica-Cynthia-Cala of the poems. There is an intelligent discussion (Ch. II) of Greville's preference for "Images of Life" rather than "Images of Wit." But what is perhaps Mr. Frost's most original contribution is his hypothesis (*me judice*, inadequately supported: see p. 57) "that the entire sequence may have been completed—or very nearly completed—by 1586" (p. 13).

Pages 42-54, devoted to an exposition of "Similarities in *Caelica* to Sidney's Poems," while offering little new information on that subject, do perform the service of gathering into convenient body Croll, Scott, Bullough, and Purcell's parallels and analogies. A little more care in transcribing, and a little more frankness in acknowledging *verbatim* reproduction of Bullough would seem called for throughout this section of the book.

It is scandalous that a work of such small compass should contain so much evidence of carelessness and poor taste in the handling of details. The Preface speaks of *Matthew Croll* where *Morris* is intended; and one suspects that the *I. J. Campbell* of the next page is meant to be *O. J.* The author says (p. 2) that Bullough does *not* draw upon Purcell, yet Bullough does (I, 45) most pointedly and disparagingly refer to Purcell's article. The reader is treated, somewhat juvenily, to translations of the brief passages quoted from Miss Scott's *Les Sonnets Elisabethains*. And, in view of the extensive quotation throughout (see Index, p. 62) of individual poems from *Caelica*, the reader may well wonder why the entire sequence is not here reprinted. Of textual errors and misprints I note the following:

- p. 6, line 21: for 1597, read 1579
- p. 15, line 38: delete *do*
- p. 19, line 31: for *rigueur*, read *rigueur*
- p. 44, line 36: for *admission*, read *admissions*
- p. 44, line 37: for *reason*, read *Reason*
- p. 50, line 16: for *The sonnet*, read *This sonnet*
- p. 52, line 32: supply initial quotation marks for passage here concluded
- p. 53, line 8: for footnote indication 140, read 141
- p. 60, line 20: for 1898, read 1899
- p. 60, line 38: for *Smeeton*, read *Smeeton*.

The "footnotes," exasperatingly relegated to the back of the pamphlet, are inexact and confusing. In footnote 20 (p. 56), for 1898, read 1899; in footnote 40 (p. 57), for 3, read 6; in footnote 44, for Herringham, read Herringman. Footnote 50 directs the reader to nonexistent "statistics" in Bullough's Introduction, p. 52. In footnote 63, for 62, read 36. Footnote 79 (p. 58) is meaningless as it stands, but presumably refers to p. 22 of Frost's text. Footnote 137 (p. 59) refers the reader to "Croll, *op. cit.*, 9"; but the reference (like the quoted passage it documents) is obviously drawn from Bullough, p. 267, and this intermediate derivation should be acknowledged. It is likewise misleading, in footnote 143, to refer to "Dyer, *op. cit.*, 34" when the quoted passage being documented is an opinion of Grosart's expressed in his edition of Dyer's *Writings* (Fuller Worthies Lib., 1872).

The Bibliography, which, in fairness, is obviously merely selective, nevertheless is remarkable for several omissions. It lists Sir Sidney Lee's *Elizabethan Sonnets*, but not his *DNB* article on Greville; Schelling's *Elizabethan Lyrics*, but not his essay on Sidney and Greville in *The Queen's Progress*. It makes no mention of C. C. Stopes' *Shakespeare's Warwickshire Contemporaries*; and, strangely, since Bullough thinks it "the best criticism of Greville's work written so far," likewise no mention of Miss Una Ellis-Fermor's essay on Greville in her *The Jacobean Drama*. In one who chides Purcell and Bullough (p. 2) for bibliographical oversights it is perhaps a little indecorous to omit from text (p. 13) or bibliography any mention of M. F. Crow's reprint of *Caelica* in her *Elizabethan Sonnet Cycles*.

For a world that has grown not a little weary of ecstatic rehabilitations of minor "neglected and unesteemed" Elizabethans, Mr. Frost's enthusiastic "discovery" of excellencies in the compact twistedness of this near-Metaphysical courtier-poet may come too late. But if the cycle of such exploitation is to continue, then it is my guess that Mr. Frost has nominated the figure likeliest for next promotion. Unless that quaint Mr. T. S. Eliot has a sticker candidate up his sleeve.

JOHN L. LIEVSAY

Stanford University

Matrimonial Law and the Materials of Restoration Comedy. By GELLERT SPENCER ALLEMAN. Published by the author. Providence Road, Wallingford, Pa., 1942. Pp. vii + 155. \$2.00.

Of the many provocative statements fathered by Charles Lamb the one receiving current notice in the learned journals is his dictum that the men and women of Restoration comedy were not real men and women living according to the rules of a real society. Professor

E. E. Stoll in upholding Lamb's point of view (*Modern Language Notes* [March, 1943]) has focussed attention upon the mock marriages as reflecting Restoration and early eighteenth-century taste rather than life, and believes such marriages to have originated in convention rather than reality: "To a huge system of comic imposture, not to any conceivable society the Hymeneal pretenses belong."

Professors G. M. Travelyan, Mr. T. A. Lacey, and Mr. Bonamy Dobree had disputed Lamb's statement by reference to several notorious matrimonial prosecutions in the courts of the time. There has recently appeared, however, an exhaustive and carefully worded study of the question by Mr. Gellert Spencer Alleman, entitled *Matrimonial Law and the Materials of Restoration Comedy*,* which is distinctly worth reading by anyone interested in the backgrounds of Restoration comedy or the current debate. Mr. Alleman has examined 241 comedies written between 1660 and 1714, which he has analysed under the five logical headings: Spousals, Clandestine Marriages, Deceptive Marriages, Separations and Dissolutions. Although his focus is upon the uses made by the dramatists of these aspects of matrimony and their various sub-headings, he has skillfully woven into the texture of his book the provisions in canon and civil law regarding these points, and has also provided abundant illustration from case histories.

The impression one gets from reading Lamb and Professor Stoll is that the whole use of matrimonial materials in the comedy is artificially conventional. The impression one gets from Mr. Alleman is that the convention would not have prevailed had it not been sufficiently reflective of actual happenings in the life of the times to give it a degree of credibility. Disbelief, it would seem, did not have to be willingly suspended to such a degree by Restoration and early eighteenth-century theatre-goers in order to enjoy the plays as it does by twentieth-century readers.

The carefully judicial aspect of Mr. Alleman's work may be seen by a few excerpts. Of Spousals: "The situations seem to be taken from literature rather than from life; but they were intelligible to an audience which saw similar events in the life of its time." Of Clandestine Marriages: "If the stolen wedding seems to be a conventional fixture of Restoration comedy, we must remember that until Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act, which in 1754 invalidated future clandestine marriages in England and sent runaway lovers north to Gretna Green, such unions were an important feature of English life, especially among the gentry and the wealthy classes." Of Deceptive Marriages: "In summing up the conventional motif of tricked marriage, we must admit that often the device seems to be of literary origin. When it involves a ceremony in disguise with the substitution of one person for another it presents a stratagem which, if it did take place, had no power to bind the victim. . . . Although

* His doctoral thesis for the University of Pennsylvania.

some of the marriages in masks and disguises could have taken place, as the dramatists present them they are merely time-worn conventions." Of Separations: "The instances of separation thus far discussed [separation by mutual consent] are all perfectly possible; probably they resemble those which did occur in Restoration times." Of Dissolution of Marriage: "Although there is no reason to believe that any situation in the plays is taken directly from a contemporary case, the use of the subject is, in most instances less stereotyped than is the treatment of clandestine, tricked, and mock marriages."

Mr. Alleman has made easily accessible the legal materials which the comic dramatists use most frequently. Although the score, from the main divisions of his book, is 3 to 2 in favor of the use as conventional, when all the subdivisions are considered and all the qualifications are digested one feels that the stage had more to do with the real life than Lamb supposed. And one may surely agree with the author that knowledge of the legal elements in the plot, with which the audience was quite familiar, makes not only for a closer comprehension of the plays but also heightens appreciation of the dramatists' approach.

Mr. Alleman has included several interesting charts of his analysis of the plays and the frequency of their presentation. The chapters on Spousals, Clandestine Marriages and Separations are particularly revealing.

GEORGE WINCHESTER STONE, JR.

The George Washington University

Carlyle and the Saint-Simonians: The Concept of Historical Periodicity. By HILL SHINE. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1941. Pp. xiii + 191. \$2.25.

Mr. Shine's monograph is a worthy addition to the studies which have appeared on the foreign sources of Carlyle's thought. Its scope is admittedly limited, and the book therefore lacks the importance of such a study as C. F. Harrold's *Carlyle and German Thought* (1934). Nevertheless it explores with meticulous thoroughness a debt which has previously been recognized but never sufficiently traced. Mr. Shine's task is that of showing the exact nature of the impact of Saint-Simonian thought upon Carlyle's concept of historical periodicity. He examines the whole range of Carlyle's writings in the light of the Saint-Simonian philosophy of history which Carlyle came to know in 1830-31. He applies to Carlyle's work (notably to "Characteristics," *Sartor Resartus*, *The French Revolution*, and the 1838 lectures on the history of literature) the touchstones of the Saint-Simonian doctrine of the periodic alternation in human history of eras of advance and eras of recession. The chief elements

in that doctrine are, as Mr. Shine summarizes it: (1) Statement of the law of progressive periodic mutation; (2) Characterization of the two kinds of epoch in each period; (3) Definition of the method of transition between periods; (4) Designation of the two complete periods in past European history, and (5) Interpretation of the present and the future in the light of periodicity.

The author comes to the conclusion that the influence of Saint-Simonian thought upon Carlyle was that "of a well-worked-out system upon a mind that had already moved a long way in the same direction but that had not yet clearly formulated and articulated its various insights and influences," and that, late in 1830 and in 1831, Carlyle found an exposition in the Saint-Simonian writings of a concept of periodicity "perfectly fusible with, and supplementary to, his earlier influences and his own painful advances beyond those earlier influences."

Mr. Shine is scrupulously fair, if slightly repetitive in driving home his conclusions; he avoids the temptation which comes to the special pleader to make his case seem stronger than it really is. Just how far Carlyle, if he had never heard of the Saint-Simonians, might have developed his theory that history consists of an alternation of critical and organic epochs it is of course impossible to say. Nothing is more typical of Carlyle, however, than his penchant for fitting into the mosaic of his own philosophy ideas which he had taken (and frequently had distorted) from others. The idea of historical periodicity was much in the air. Carlyle might have had something of it from Coleridge, or from Fichte, or from Novalis. Certainly the concept was not new to him before he began reading the literature of the French Saint-Simonians. It is of first importance that Mr. Shine does not try to minimize the weight of Goethe's contribution to Carlyle's theory of epochs of advance and recession; Goethe's "belief and unbelief" being equivalent here to the Saint-Simonian "organic and critical." Mr. Shine takes the defensible position that the Saint-Simonians had stimulated and confirmed Carlyle's own insights into history and had "guided him in elaborating Goethe's general concept." He concludes that "great as is Carlyle's debt to Goethe in those characterizations of the epochs of faith and lack-of-faith, his debt in tracing out the epochs in actual history is chiefly to the Saint-Simonians."

It is bootless to criticize an author for not doing what he did not pretend to do, but one finds himself wishing that Mr. Shine had found opportunity to examine the even more important relationships between Carlyle's social theories and those preached by the Saint-Simonians, as well as to discuss in more detail the relation between Carlyle's philosophy of history and his social philosophy. Mr. Shine hints in his preface that he is leaving this for "later treatment" and it is to be hoped that he will fulfill that promise, for he is admirably equipped to do so. As it is, the importance of his present book does not rest merely upon its declared *raison d'être*, the confirmation of

an "influence," though it is of course interesting to know just what Carlyle got from Goethe, what from the Saint-Simonians, and so forth. Much of its value comes from the incidental tracing, in Carlyle's own work, of a theory which was basic to the whole Carlylean interpretation of the stream of history.

JOHN W. DODDS

Stanford University

New Poems by Hartley Coleridge, Including a Selection from his Published Poetry. Edited by EARL LESLIE GRIGGS. New York: Oxford University Press, 1942. Pp. xxi + 135. \$3.00.

The order of this volume reverses the order of the title. The first half contains selections from Hartley Coleridge's 1833 collection and from the posthumous poems published by Derwent in 1851; the second half presents sixty-one new poems, eleven of them collected from miscellaneous printed sources, and the other fifty from manuscripts in the possession of the Reverend G. H. B. Coleridge. This arrangement, while convenient for the reader who wishes to review Hartley's previously known poetry before assessing the additional poems, is decidedly unflattering to the section of the volume featured in the title. For against the best quarter of Hartley's previously published lines, the new poems seem less valuable than they would as a rounding out of a "complete" edition. Publication of such an inclusive volume, however, was doubtless impracticable at this time.

The themes of the new poems are various, and characteristic of the previously known Hartley. First come fourteen sonnets, in which he apologizes for his failure in life; sends his mother a Christmas rhyme from "her once beloved Quizz"; laments the absence of his brother; considers whether he should be melancholy, or "just hibernify myself with whiskey"; and praises the five senses, flowers, springtime, and Thomas Clarkson the abolitionist. Perhaps the best of these sonnets (first published in 1903) begins: "Time was when I could weep; but now all care / is gone . . ." It may, thinks Professor Griggs, refer to Dorothy Wordsworth. Then come several conventional laments, some of them in couplets, such as the one to the late Mrs. Gibson, who "was the darling of a happy house"; and one to the old year, in which Hartley reflects:

Not any worthy work perform'd of mine
While thirty-eight has turned to thirty-nine . . .

Of the several humorous pieces, most welcome are the parody of Peter Bell, and the one beginning:

He lived amidst th'untrodden ways
To Rydal Lake that lead:—
A bard whom there were none to praise,
And very few to read.

Far more feeble is the squib referring to Wordsworth as the "Great Goose of Cocker" (a play on Shakespeare the Swan of Avon), and the doggerel:

Lolly-pops
And nice mint drops
They are my dear delight
For Sugar Candy
I'm the Dandy—
Be it brown or white.

(Can Hartley have been serious in saying of this ditty: "though simple, I really think [it] has much natural passion"?) Such pieces do not lead one to hope that further study of Hartley's manuscripts will yield much treasure. There are finally some fanciful tributes to children and to Lake Country scenes, a youthful effort for the Irish Relief Fund, and several translations. Altogether, though the *New Poems* present useful materials for the student of Hartley or his group, they do not enhance his reputation as a poet.

Professor Griggs' selections from Hartley's previously published work include sixty sonnets and twenty-nine other short lyrics. They are enough to justify Hartley's hopes that he "would fain produce something worthy of my father's son." One may not accept the verdict that Hartley's sonnets are "unexcelled in their quiet beauty," or that "after Shakespeare our *sweetest* English sonneteer is Hartley Coleridge" (this latter judgment is quoted approvingly from a certain Samuel Waddington); yet there is undeniable charm and mastery in "Calm is the sky: the trees are very calm"; or in "Sweet music steals along the yielding soul, / Like the brisk wind that sows autumnal seeds . . ." His themes are few, and all familiar, but they are genuine.

Little in the way of editorial apparatus accompanies the poems. A few quotations from Hartley's letters are lively on their own account, as well as illuminating. In his "Preface" Professor Griggs lists fifteen poems previously published for which he has supplied more accurate texts, but on examination the new readings seem incidental rather than "important" changes. In other respects the "Preface" is more appreciative than critical. For example, Professor Griggs does not examine the question of why so "spontaneous" a poet should find his best expression in so arbitrary a form as the sonnet. Nor does he illustrate what he has in mind when he claims for the sonnets a "technical excellence."

B. R. McELDERRY, JR.

State College of Washington

Savage Landor. By MALCOLM ELWIN. New York: Macmillan Company, 1941. Pp. 498. \$4.00.

In the first biography of Landor to appear in more than sixty years, Malcolm Elwin tries to present a sympathetic portrait of a man who has been variously regarded as one of the greatest eccentrics and one of the best prose writers in English literature. Criticizing Forster and Colvin, his two predecessors in Landor biography, Mr. Elwin charges that their accounts were over-influenced by Forster's personal knowledge of Landor in the latter's old age, and by personal information of a rather prejudiced kind supplied to him by Robert Landor. Hence, his own emphasis upon a more detailed knowledge of the early and middle years of Landor's life.

Elwin represents his subject as a headstrong but consistent man, many of whose troubles arose from the fact that he was out of sympathy with his age. Yet the new revelations which are made in this book do little to modify the judgment of Colvin, that Landor's was a nature in which, from the first, great talents and potentialities were marred by as great defects. The fact that it can now be shown that he was the father of an illegitimate child, that he had numerous affairs with other women, including a life-long attachment to Sophia Jane Swift ("Ianthé"), or, finally, that in all the practical activities of his life, including his roles as husband and father, Landor was uniformly unsuccessful—these circumstances as they are related by Elwin may supplement the accounts of Forster and Colvin but do little to alter their interpretation of him as a personality. The early Landor as he is here presented in some detail proves to be an accurate foreshadowing of the alternately irascible and dignified old man known by Forster and nearly all the eminent Victorians.

The element common to both these Landors, and one which is the key to an understanding of his turbulent career, is a really colossal egotism amounting almost to megalomania. He was unwilling to enter the arena against his contemporaries on their own level; he refused to run the risks of defeat. His pride could not endure the prospect of taking second place unless for some reason he himself chose to do so. After the failure of his early epic, *Gebir*, to attract attention, his literary career became a history of repeats and escapes—into Latin poetry, into the ideal world of the ancients, into limited editions for connoisseurs, into fields chosen by himself where the rules were his own and the chances of defeat small. It is typical of Landor's fear of trial by combat that he should publish most of his poetry and much of his prose anonymously, and that at the end of his life he should write, with egotistical magniloquence:

I strove with none, for none was worth my strife.

Nearly all Landor's other failings, as they are related by Elwin, arose from this extreme egotism. Over-sensitive regarding his per-

sonal dignity, he was involved in endless battle with those from whom he suffered real or imagined slights. He had a fondness for the perverse or unusual side of a question and rarely took the trouble to conceal opinions which were sure to offend. He congratulated Louis Napoleon on "having escaped the two heaviest of misfortunes—a prison and a throne." And he did not hesitate to inform Macaulay that he preferred the *Lays of Ancient Rome* to the *History of England*. It is probable, although Mr. Elwin would deny it, that the same fondness for singularity had something to do with Landor's life-long republicanism; even in Mr. Elwin's account it is obvious that he enjoyed shocking his contemporaries by his description of himself as an aristocratic radical.

In defending Landor against the criticism of his contemporaries, Elwin tries to show that in many respects he was ahead of his time. But surely enlightened views on church reform and the Irish Question, as well as many other subjects by which he was agitated, do not entitle him to be called, "—one of the great political thinkers and philosophers of his time." As a matter of fact, even compared to Wordsworth, Landor was singularly unaware of the effects of industrial change upon the social condition of England. This apparent ignorance of the contemporary world lessens the value of much that he has to say on political subjects and makes it all the more clear that he was in love with a static ideal of republican government in the classic mode regardless of its immediate relevance. To the end of his days, for example, he was to maintain the doctrine of tyrannicide.

This leads to one of the chief weaknesses of Mr. Elwin's book. In spite of the fullness with which it explores the external circumstances of Landor's life and in spite of the many additions which it makes to our knowledge of it, it does not succeed in giving as adequate an account of his intellectual and artistic development as does, say, the *Shelley* of Mr. N. I. White. A satisfying account of Landor's growth as an artist is still lacking. And while Mr. Elwin was faced by a great problem of selection and condensation in relation to a career which was both lengthy and fertile, nevertheless it is true that much space is devoted to Landor's many feuds and peccadillos and proportionately little to the re-creation of his intellectual and emotional life through the medium of his own writings. A truer effect could have been obtained by focusing more upon the growth of the artist, and by including studies of the development of his highly individualistic social attitudes, of the place of the classical, political and aesthetic ideal in his thought, of his growth as a poet and writer of prose, and, finally, of the biographical significance of certain themes which occur very frequently throughout his writing.

In spite of its failure to deal more fully with these most important aspects of Landor's life, Mr. Elwin's book does, for the first time, provide a full and detailed background against which his work can now be read. Because of its value in suggesting new lines of in-

vestigation regarding both life and works, it is to be regretted that Mr. Elwin has not included in his biography either footnotes or any extensive discussion of sources.

J. H. E. SLATER

University of Washington

The Phonetics of Great Smoky Mountain Speech. By JOSEPH SARGENT HALL. New York: King's Crown Press (a branch of the Columbia University Press), 1942. Pp. 110. \$2.00.

Here is the report of a piece of field work which in nature, though not in scope and value, is comparable to the *Linguistic Atlas of New England*. Mr. Hall lived for ten months among the people of the Great Smoky Mountain region of Tennessee and North Carolina, and made seventy-three recordings and many written transcriptions and notes of the colorful and historically important pronunciation of that region. He also studied a number of local, unpublished documents on Great Smokies life and speech.

The results are presented in four chapters: 1. Introduction. 2. The Vowel Sounds of Stressed Syllables. 3. The Vowel Sounds of Unstressed and Partially Stressed Syllables. 4. The Consonants.

Mr. Hall is careful not to present his findings as a complete and exhaustive record, yet it is difficult to believe that we shall soon or ever have a better record. The reasons for this opinion are to be found not only in the apparent accuracy and variety of his observations, but also in the fact that the picturesque dialect of the Tennessee mountain region is rapidly disappearing. The school buses which take the children into towns, the National Park Service, motion pictures, radio, tourists, and until recently the C.C.C.—“against such odds the rustic tang of Smokies utterance cannot endure. In tourist centers the changes are coming fast; in other areas they are coming gradually—but they are sure to win out in the end.” On these facts rest much of the timeliness and importance of this monograph.

Yet oddly enough, Great Smokies speech, as the author points out, has never been sharply divergent from that of surrounding areas, nor indeed has the region itself been completely isolated. There has always been some contact with cultural centers like Knoxville and Asheville. No single feature of the pronunciation of the Smokies area, therefore, is strictly peculiar to or definitive of the dialect. Nearly all the recorded phenomena occur in some other variety of colloquial or dialectal English and many of them are used widely not only in the Southern part of the United States but throughout many other parts of the country.

Mr. Hall felt, therefore, that only the total picture was definitive and that he could not single out from his material any list of specific distinguishing items. We cannot help wishing, however, that he had made the attempt to do so, or at least had summarized in some way the features which he regarded as the more important elements of that total picture and had compared them with Southern pronunciation in general. Although the monograph has a splendid introduction, and although there is some useful generalization in the chapters on unstressed vowels and consonants, the author has given his reader little help in judging the relative significance of his findings.

In view of this fact, any reviewer must have considerable temerity to attempt a summary of main points. Nevertheless, we glean for the hurried reader some of Mr. Hall's conclusions (in which, by the way, he has been exceedingly cautious).

In regard to stressed vowels in Smokies utterance, he points out — (1) tendencies to lengthen or diphthongize many of them, e.g., [ɪ], [e], [ɛ], [æ], [ɔ], [o], [u], [ʌ]; (2) a wide range of variation in many vowels, as for example, the change of [ʌ] toward [ʊ], [ɔ], or [a] (p. 39); the variable uses of [a] and [ɐ] (pp. 27-28); and the elusive variations of [ɔ] toward [o] or [a] or even [æ] as in *haunt* and *jaundice*, or its tendencies to be diphthongized (pp. 31-33); (3) the frequent retraction of [ɛ] to [ɤ] before *r* as in *berry*, *ceremony*, *sheriff*, *terrible*, *very*, or its replacement by [ʌ] in such words as *steady*, *trestle*, *whether* (pp. 20, 21); (4) the use of an open [æ] which verges toward [a] before *r* in such words as *air*, *carry*, *parent*, *square*, and *bear*, of which the last is often represented by the spelling *b'ar* (p. 24); (5) frequent use of [æ] in such words as *crop*, *drop*, *yonder* (p. 28); (6) the tendency to change the diphthong [aʊ] toward [æʊ] (p. 45) and to simplify the diphthong [aɪ] to [a¹], [a], or [a] (p. 43).

In regard to unstressed and partially stressed syllables Mr. Hall finds in Great Smoky Mountain speech the tendency to reduction or elimination which is common in all regions of America, but he also notes a counter tendency stronger than in general American utterance to restore stress in conformity with spelling. Both these tendencies, in so far as they account for distinctive features of the pronunciation, are influenced now by increasing contacts with the outside world. As in general American utterance, the sounds most often occurring in unstressed syllables are [ɔ], [ɪ], and the retroflex sound as in the final syllable of *further*,¹ although [ʌ], [ɪ], [m], [n], and [r] also occur in certain instances especially in medial or final syllables.

Of the consonants in Great Smokies utterance Mr. Hall says they conform very closely to those of general American speech; the few differences lie chiefly in occasional loss, addition, or substitution, and in assimilation, dissimilation, and change of voicing.

¹ Phonetic symbol not available.

The work as a whole is a commendable addition to our material on American regional dialects.

HORACE G. RAHSKOPF

University of Washington

Thomas Mann's World. By JOSEPH GERARD BRENNAN. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942. Pp. xvii + 206. \$2.50.

This study singles out a limited number of recurring themes in Thomas Mann's work and traces their development in the fictional work and the essays. Six informative chapters have as their respective topics, The Artist's Isolation in a Bourgeois World; Disease, Art and Life; Music and the Romantic; Morality and the Artist; Politics; and finally, Nature and Spirit. The author is concerned primarily with the thought pattern constituting the tissue of Thomas Mann's work. It is the thinker rather than the creative artist who absorbs his attention. But insofar as each theme of Thomas Mann's thinking tends to take the form of a pair of terms, either simply opposed to each other, or bound by the tension of polarity, the pattern of Thomas Mann's thought comes in for examination as much as the substance, and we are never allowed to forget that the thoughts discussed are points in an artist's design.

The method of each chapter is roughly chronological. A good deal of background material is also presented showing the philosophical tradition to which Thomas Mann is largely indebted for his themes and his way of thinking. Goethe, Schopenhauer, Wagner, Nietzsche, and Freud enter most prominently into the discussion as spiritual forebears or contemporary influences. Schiller, while also brought into the picture at many points, is perhaps not given the emphasis due him. No literary philosopher before Thomas Mann has played the dialectical game with quite so much relish as Schiller or has striven with quite so much eloquence to conjure up a crowning synthesis of apparently irreconcilable opposites. The author of *Goethe and Tolstoy* felt the rapture of that spell when he referred to Schiller's essay *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung* as "that classic and comprehensive German essay which embraces the scope of them all and makes all the others superfluous." He was fully conscious of following in Schiller's footsteps.

To American readers, at the present time, the chapter on Politics may prove the most interesting. While in the rest of his study Mr. Brennan restricts himself to discussing that part of Thomas Mann's work which is available in English translation, he draws upon the untranslated *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen* here in order to show what a long way Thomas Mann had to travel before he came to espouse democracy. There is no reference, unfortunately, either

in the text or the bibliography, to a significant essay of the year 1923, *Von deutscher Republik*. This essay contained the first public intimation of a sharp swing toward the political left on Thomas Mann's part. It antedates the enlarged version of *Goethe and Tolstoy* which contains a vehement attack on fascism, by more than a year.

While the author deserves commendation for his sympathetic and intelligent treatment of his subject, a number of shortcomings must be touched upon by even a brief review. The spelling of many German titles and phrases betrays a rather sketchy familiarity with the German language. (And why is Pieperkorn always mentioned as Pieperkorn?) There are some explicit slips with regard to dates and references. The argument based on Schiller's essay *The Stage as a Moral Institution* is meaningless because it ignores the fact that it was written a decade before the essays based on the study of Kant (p. 110). A number of pages are marred by that type of misprint that makes a sort of sense and therefore sticks like a wood tick. The quotations from Thomas Mann's writings include half a dozen that seem to me unintelligible without recourse to the German original. Most of these turned out to be accurately taken from the authorized translations. In a couple of cases, however, a bad translation was put to the proof by being garbled in the process of copying. One such case is a gem worth framing. On page 184 we read: "Here is exhibited the artist's mediating task, his hermetic and magical role as broken between the upper and lower world, between idea and phenomenon, spirit and sense." At the word "broken" the gears in my mind clashed and I stopped dead. Without doubt Thomas Mann used a word that should have been rendered by "divided" or "distributed," I reasoned. However, a check of the original brought to light this version: "Die *vermittelnde* Aufgabe des Künstlers, seine hermetisch-zauberhafte Rolle als Mittler zwischen oberer und unterer Welt. . . ." The solution was both obvious and incredible. The translator had rendered *Mittler* by "broker," correlating the concepts of hermetic magic and the stock exchange—or was it, perchance, the marriage mart that he had in mind? At any rate he was as insensitive to the sacred aura surrounding the word *Mittler* as that preacher whom I once heard thanking God in extemporaneous prayer "for Jesus Christ's brilliant career." I think the scales tip rather in Mr. Brennan's favor for his having miscopied that passage or slipped up in copying his copy.

HERMANN J. WIEGAND

Yale University

An Index to the Poems of Rainer Maria Rilke, "Gesammelte Werke" and "Späte Gedichte." Compiled by HERMAN SALINGER. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1942. Pp. 32. \$1.00.

In the present indeterminate state of a definitive Rilke edition, all scholars—and many readers—will welcome the appearance of this Index to the old six-volume edition and the *Späte Gedichte*, both now out of print. It may be a very long time indeed before we shall have a complete edition that meets all scholarly needs, and in the unfortunate interim this contribution, which the compiler modestly terms "ein Knie, sonst nichts," will be extremely useful to all those who have long been thumbing pages when they wished to locate a particular opening line or title which has haunted the memory.

It is altogether pleasing that so sensitive an interpreter and a poet in his own right as Dr. Salinger has undertaken this tedious and so frequently thankless task. No two people agree on the ways of an Index, though all are unanimous as to the desirability. This one is unusual in having been sponsored by an artist who is also a scholar in his approach to the Rilke opening lines, which are indeed much more than mechanical signposts to some particular poem. Every reader of Rilke might well reflect on Dr. Salinger's apologia for his labor, as presented in *Modern Language Notes* for January, 1942. He will find clearly and succinctly set forth what he himself has either dimly felt, or considerations similar to those which he has sometimes formulated concretely as he was scanning some specific poem or verse. Rilke's ambition, to make every word in his verse of living significance, is poignantly realized in many of these opening lines, which take on the functional importance of organic parts.

If that generalization concerning opening lines is true of Rilke's verse as a whole, it is even more intensively applicable to the *Stundenbuch*, where the shorter prayers are units in themselves, organically embedded within the entire great quest for God. To arrange these opening lines for quick reference is to render a distinct service, for each one of them evokes an image that is readily transmuted into a communication with the body of the concrete experience that underlay the creative period which prompted it.

In this connection, it is suggested that "Stimme eines jungen Bruders" (II, 189), together with "An den jungen Bruder" (II, 200) and again "An den jungen Bruder" (II, 201) be treated (with asterisks) as headings, and that the respective opening lines, so penetratingly meaningful, be included in the Index:

Ich verrinne, ich verrinne (II, 189)
Du, gestern Knabe, dem die Wirrnis kam (II, 200)
Dann bete du, wie es dich dieser lehrt (II, 201)

Rilke intended these as opening lines, and they are so treated in *Ausgewählte Werke*, I, 21, 29, 30. The few introductory words which

now stand as headings are all that remain of the lengthy prose explanations which Rilke had originally planned, to embellish the figure of the young monk. (MS A in the Weimar Archiv; cf. Ruth Mövius, *Rainer Maria Rilkes Stunden-Buch* [Leipzig: Insel, 1937], pp. 181, 190.)

Some inconsistency has been noted in the treatment of similar introductions in the early poems. "Die Mädchen singen" (I, 182) is handled as an opening line, while the rhyme scheme of the verse itself definitely indicates "Alle Mädchen erwarten wen," which is missing in the Index. On the other hand, "Mädchen singen" (I, 318) and again "Mädchen singen" (I, 319), together with "Eine singt" (I, 321) are all quite properly disregarded as opening lines, in favor of those clearly marked by the composition of the respective poems. Accidents of printing appear to have determined the choice.

If the helpful practice of listing first lines of each part of a sub-divided poem is consistently followed in the spirit as well as the letter, this principle ought to have been applied to "Die spanische Trilogie" (III, 446; *SG*, 153). The trilogy happens not to be numbered, but it does consist of three poems, separated from each other by an asterisk, and each part ought to be treated as a unit, with its own opening line included. (Hans Gebser, *Rilke und Spanien* [Zürich: Oprecht, 1940], p. 34, calls them "Die drei Gedichte.")

Discrepancies in the printed versions lead to other inconsistencies in the Index. "Nonnen-Klage" (*GW* III, 380; *SG*, 11 and so listed) is divided into four numbered divisions in *GW*, while *SG* drops the numbering and prints the poem as an entity. It seems inaccurate to list the four opening lines of the four divisions, attributing only one of them both to *GW* and *SG*. In point of fact, they are all in *SG*, though not sub-divided. Omitting them does not settle the question as to whether they are four poems or one. *Gesammelte Gedichte*, Vierter Band (1933-34) augmented by many poems, which is practically unavailable but of which we have some knowledge, employs the numbering, and the alternate reading of *GW* III, 382 "verborgen" (verborgen).

Similarly, the famous "Lied" (III, 433; 130) with which we first become acquainted by the avenue of *Malte Laurids Brigge*, might well be cross-indexed in the opening line:

Du, der ichs nicht sage, daß ich bei Nacht (V, 287) even if not in the title, which does not appear as such in *MLB*.

The omission of two opening lines and of one title was noted in passing:

Das Volk war durstig, also ging das eine (II, 28)
Der Abend wechselt langsam die Gewänder (II, 62)
Der letzte Sonnengruß (I, 77)

It is a bit puzzling to search for the Browning translations and to locate them under "Elizabeth," with no cross-reference either

under "Browning" or "Sonette." That seems to be carrying faithfulness to a text too far.

The compiler has happily followed suggestions that he include the additional poems and variant titles of *AW*. Having conceded the necessity of this, he might well have undertaken the systematic inclusion of all opening lines and titles within his Index proper. By his partial procedure, other inconsistencies result, as is only natural. In view of the unsatisfactory nature of some of the printed Rilke texts, their scattered domiciles, and the inaccessibility of much of the source material, there is now a practical compulsion on all students of Rilke to shift around in the three texts which are available to the average person. While sharing to the full Dr. Salinger's distaste for such an incomplete selection as *AW* offers, it seems to this reviewer that it would have been valuable to have cross-references enabling one to compare the three readily. The question arises: Would it not have been better to bring clearly into focus a number of variants which have now been established and which are generally known to scholars, by housing the three temporary versions, *GW*, *SG*, and *AW*, under one temporary Index roof? *AW* has been published, after all, under scholarly auspices, somewhat in the nature of a sampling of the historical-critical edition which we all hope to have in the due course of time. It contains corrections and carefully edited versions of a good many rather important poems, which could be more easily collated with the Index aid. Of course, having received this basic assistance, each individual is now free to annotate his own Index copy.

But to illustrate: The *Stundenbach* lines above noted are a case in point. A comparison of *GW* and *AW* would have cleared this up. Another instance is the poem "Wendung," which marks a turning point in Rilke's outlook on the world. In *AW* I, 309 the poem is accompanied by the instructive Kassner quotation which partly determined it. Another much-discussed poem: "Der Tod Moses," [*sic!*] included in *GW*, *SG*, and *AW* I, 329, varies only by a semicolon in the incomplete edition; but this re-interprets the poem on the basis of a manuscript lately examined. The 1913/14 poem, "Perlen entrollen. Weh, riß eine der Schnüre?" contained in all three of our references, is printed with the disfiguring "Gasdrang" in the two earlier ones, while the more plausible "Grasdrang" appears only in *AW* I, 311. In at least one case: "Er ruft es an. *Es* (in place of the senseless *er*) schrickt zusamm und steht" (III, 431; *SG*, 125; *AW* I, 360), stands in our present Index uncorrected and without an alternative. Rilke himself, as is so often true when an error has been perpetuated, is responsible for the mutilated *er*. The Rilke manuscripts, as every one humbly concedes who has worked with them, present the usual pitfalls plus an unusual number of additional perils which lurk behind their often deceptively simple contours.

One variant opening line, "Wie Kindheit nach uns langt und sich beruft" (*AW* I, 347), involves the sequence of a whole sonnet which, in *SG*, 120 begins illogically with the sestet: "Von dorthier einzig sind wir anverwandt," as it is given in the Index proper. Although variant titles in *AW* are listed, there is no provision for variant opening lines. Under the latter heading one might also mention: "Oh Quelle, meine Quelle, kalt und kaum gesellig" (*AW* II, 381), which reads "O Quelle, etc." in *GW* VI, 372.

The omission of one variant title in *AW* was noted. "O Lächeln, erstes Lächeln, unser Lächeln" (III, 464; *SG*, 71) is called "Liebesanfang" (*AW* I, 313).

In two instances observed the pagination was not sufficiently inclusive: Gebete der Mädchen zur Maria (I, 325-342); Mütter (I, 240-251).

The list of *errata* lays no claim to completeness:

An der sonnengewohnten for *sonngewohnten* (p. 5); **Das Karussell* for **Karusell* (p. 8); *Der verlorene* for *verlorene* (p. 10); (*Dies*) *Überstanden* (*haben*) for *überstanden* (p. 12); (*Dort*) *sehe* (*ich Türme*) for *seh* (p. 13); (*Du*) *wolltest* (*wie die andern sein*) for *wolltest*; (*Endlich* *verlitten*, *entging sein Wesen dem*) *Schrecklichen* for *schrecklichen* (p. 14); (*Froh* *waren*, *traurig und*) *bestürzt* for *bestürzt* (p. 16); *Ich möchte werden die ganz Geheimen* for *Ich möchte werden wie die . . .* (p. 18); *Köstlich* (, o Öl, das oben will) for *Köstliche* (p. 20); **Masken!* for *Masken!*; (*Meine*) *Frühverliehnen* for *frühverliehnen* (p. 21); (*Wie*) *ergeift* (*uns der Vogelschrei*) for *ergreift* (p. 30).

The following entries are in the wrong place alphabetically: *Obwohl mein Herz bedrückt war übers Maß* (p. 23); *Pfauenfeder*, *Pont du Carrousel* (p. 24); *So wie dem Meister manchmal das eilig* (p. 26); *Wie geschah es? Es gelang zu lieben* (p. 30).

The format and the type are somewhat disappointing, since we had been led to hope for uniformity with *GW* and *SG*, with which the Index is to be used. Perhaps a second edition will be made necessary, and enough interest will have been shown to make possible the incorporation of many helpful suggestions which will surely come from numerous sources. Having said all this, we are still grateful to Dr. Salinger for initiating this worthwhile task, and we hope that circumstances may permit him to continue and to enlarge it.

LYDIA BAER

Swarthmore College

Diderot's Treatment of the Christian Religion in the "Encyclopédie."

By JOSEPH E. BARKER. New York: King's Crown Press (a branch of the Columbia University Press), 1941. Pp. 143. \$2.00.

This work was suggested to Professor Barker by an article of R. Saleses touching upon Diderot's religious views. Whereas Saleses had confined himself to some thirty of Diderot's religious articles in the *Encyclopédie*, the author has studied all of them and analyzed their sources.

The passage (p. 10) of the introduction where Professor Barker more particularly states his aim could have been made clearer. Strangely enough the author sees a contrast between the fact that critics have agreed in interpreting the *Encyclopedia* as an attack upon the Church, and the fact that Saleses credited Diderot with a knowledge of theology comparable to Bossuet's. But, as Diderot's critic knows, "the devil quotes the Scripture to his own ends," and consequently, it is difficult to see an opposition there. That point of departure leads us to suppose that the subject of the book might be Diderot's competence in theology, which, if found insufficient, would indicate hostility to Catholicism. The impression is dispelled at the end of the introduction: Diderot is merely well read in theology, as were many other philosophers of his time. On the same page 10, the author sets as his aim "to determine the degree of objectivity of the articles, or the extent to which they constituted propaganda against religion and the Church." Professor Barker abandons the word "objectivity" in the course of his work, and in his conclusion classifies the articles as orthodox, less orthodox, and hostile, finding that most of them are hostile.

The method of comparing Diderot's ideas to the pattern of orthodoxy involves some dangers, unless a clear distinction is made between the modalities of theological opinion at a given time, and the basic tenets of the Catholic faith. Professor Barker has not often done this and consequently his criterion for placing Diderot is uncertain or shifting. For instance, he writes that although Diderot "condemns the excess of syllogistic arguments and vain subtleties in the earlier form of scholasticism, he recognizes the value of dialectics employed by scholastics since the sixteenth century . . . the method followed by the theological faculty of Paris" (p. 32). Diderot, and Professor Barker with him, contrasts the method of mediaeval scholastics with the practices of the theologian from the Renaissance to his time. Do they believe that they achieved a progress? Barker does not say. The basic question is, What is the judgment of the universal Church, of the Church of today? Leaving those answers to be supplied by the imagination, the author accepts, like Diderot, the idea that the Renaissance brought a renewal in theology, ignoring that Diderot was qualified as a theologian only in a special sense and not in the manner of the authors of the *Mystère de Jésus* and *Elévations sur les mystères*.

The study of what Diderot said of the Trinity is inconclusive. Diderot said one thing and meant something else, and what that something is Professor Barker does not attempt to say (cf. p. 59). All we learn is of a rebuke by Diderot of the early Christians for rejecting all philosophy because it was pagan, and his warning that the believer should not be alarmed if a metaphysician arrived by his own effort at an idea analogous to that of the Trinity which is "not completely inaccessible to reason." The reader may ask if we are not confronted simply with a peculiarity of its early history which recurred in the eighteenth century when the apologists tended, as Palmer has shown (p. 80), "to emphasize the very unintelligibility of dogmas" rather than with a permanent feature. The latter interpretation is supported by such evidence as the article of St. Thomas Aquinas where he studies the idea of the Trinity in Aristotle and in the Platonic tradition (*Sum. Theol.*, I, Q. 32, A. 1).

Diderot, while in effect he does the opposite, seemingly upholds the views of the theologians who defend the necessity of the Revelation: "because of the weakness of man after the fall," says Professor Barker summarizing Diderot, "and the aberrations of the Philosophers, and because of the need of a supernatural rather than a rational guarantee of religious truth" (p. 30). The author who occasionally takes a whole page (e.g., 58, 90) to enumerate Diderot's statements where they coincide with orthodoxy simply declares these arguments weak and passes on. Is he passing judgment on the arguments themselves or only on Diderot's exposition of them? More than an assertion would be in point here.

The author merely reports Diderot's opinion on the two sources of first principles (p. 40): "the consciousness of our own existence or the rule of common sense." The rule of common sense alone, in Diderot's opinion (which, to all appearances Professor Barker accepts), "product of experience and reflexion," "acquired sixth sense," is a safe guide to reach objectivity and proves amply sufficient to judge not only Christian Revelation but also all religious thought. In other words, the writer apparently accepts Diderot's judgment in favor of the every-day, visual sense so much developed since the Renaissance against, let us say, intellectual intuition. It may be pointed out that such a stand fails to take account not only of Catholic criticism but of the judgment of Orientals like the Hindu Coomaraswamy of the Boston Museum of Arts when he declares: "subsequent to the extroversion of the European consciousness and its preoccupation with surfaces, it has become more and more difficult for European minds to think in terms of unity, and therefore more difficult to understand the Asiatic point of view," but it also ignores the following thought of the very Parisian poet Léon-Paul Fargue: "Besoins occidentaux. Besoins croissants d'accélération, de jugements rapides et provisoires. Course aux conclusions bâclées. Ressac d'une salle de machines . . . Tout ce qui saute sur la connaissance comme une tique . . . et arrache l'homme par saccades

de plus en plus dures à l'égalité d'esprit qu'il faut pour produire . . . à la caresse profonde et le tire de plus en plus de toute sorte de bonne grâce."

The present study will be useful as a repertory presenting Diderot's religious thought and its main sources: Chambers and the Trévoux dictionary. It is more than that: it relates the history of religious ideas as Diderot saw it. It brings forth the fact that the true thought of Diderot on theology is to be found in his non-religious articles. Finally, the position of Diderot comes out clearly here and there (e.g., pp. 74, 75) and especially in this statement which concludes pp. 62-63: "It is quite clear then that Diderot not only finds nothing useful in the idea of God, but that he regards it as positively harmful." The historian interested in the anti-metaphysical attitude of the Revolution will be well advised to consult these pages on Diderot.

JEAN DAVID

University of Washington

Jacques Cazotte (1719-1792). By EDWARD PEASE SHAW. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1942. Pp. viii + 136. \$1.50.

This is a complete and well documented biography of a minor colonial official who suffered the disappointments and disillusionments which seem to have been the common lot of France's colonial servants in the eighteenth century, who returned to France with financial claims against both the government and the Jesuits, neither of which was settled to his satisfaction, made himself a small literary reputation as a fabulist and *conteur*, became a leader among the Illuminists and was finally executed during the Terror.

Specialists will be grateful to have available the definitive life of a man who, while of no great interest in himself, was involved in such matters as the Lavalette affair and the *Querelle des Bouffons*,¹ was acquainted with Piron and Rétif de la Bretonne and was the intimate friend and benefactor of Rameau's nephew. Every student feels the lack at one time or another of detailed and accurate information about such figures, especially when their works have been utilized by later writers of both their own and other nationalities.²

We are so grateful to Dr. Shaw for his competent work that he will perhaps forgive the reflection that he might have put us even

¹ He entered the quarrel with two brochures on the side of French music—*La Guerre de l'Opéra* (1753?), and *Observations sur la lettre de Rousseau* (1753).

² It is Dr. Shaw's opinion that not only Hoffmann and Nodier—as well as other 19th century French writers—used Cazotte's *Diable amoureux*, but that Lewis's *Monk* shows its influence (pp. 65-6).

more in his debt by doing both less and more than he has. He is himself persuaded that Cazotte's works "with the exception of *Le Diable amoureux* scarcely deserve detailed treatment" (Preface), yet his book gives a disproportionately large amount of attention to his author's literary activities and even to analyses of his works. On the other hand, his relationships with other figures seem to be somewhat slighted.

It must be admitted too, that Dr. Shaw, perhaps infected with "Literary History," falls into errors of both omission and commission. It is disappointing, to say the least, to find the following note, which is typical:

Cazotte's *Mémoire* to Choiseul (*Arch. des. Aff. étran.*, etc.) on the government of Martinique is a highly important document in the history of French colonial policy. It is unfortunately too long to be quoted (p. 17, n. 76).

On the other hand, one would be grateful for the striking of such remarks as the following, on the subject of Richard Oberthon, hero of *Le Lord impromptu* (1767):

The influence of Rousseau is obvious when the chaplain, after telling Richard that he must leave Oxford and become a lackey, remarks: "Pleurez, pleurez, j'aime ces preuves de votre excellent naturel" (p. 54).

The chronological bibliography of Cazotte's works, including translations, should prove a useful tool for the researcher.

ROGER B. OAKE

Princeton University

Reflexive Verbs: Latin, Old French, Modern French. By ANNA GRANVILLE HATCHER. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1942. (*The Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages*, XLIII.) Pp. 213. \$1.25.

Miss Hatcher presents, as her title promised, pictures of the reflexive construction at three stages of its history. After an introductory consideration of the deponent, mediopassive, and passive functions of the Latin R-forms, she distinguishes and analyzes, drawing chiefly upon Plautus, Cicero, and Vergil, three basic reflexive patterns: an animate subject is represented as doing to himself (1) what he might do to another (*alium verbero* > *me verbero*), (2) what he does to some part or aspect of himself (*corpus exerceo* = *me exerceo*, *animum applico* = *me applico*), (3) what really results from efficacy of means (*facio aliquid*¹ *quo oblector* = *me oblecto*). Classification of verbs by pattern corresponds roughly with classification by meaning, but two categories, verbs of emotional and ner-

¹ The author persistently (p. 38 and elsewhere) uses *aliquid* for *aliquid* as a pronoun.

vous reaction and verbs of movement, constitute notable exceptions and receive special discussion. Chapter I closes with a consideration of two procedures, personification and animization, which lead to the use of the reflexive with inanimate subject.

Chapter II, the longest, gives us the picture for the early Old French period,² and Chapter III for Modern French.³ In each reappear the same categories found in Latin. Pattern I in its physical reference has continued unchanged, but in many categories important developments and innovations have occurred, and these are described, analyzed and explained. Appended is a useful index of the verbs mentioned.

It is impossible, within the space of a brief review, to discuss the author's many interesting observations and often subtle analyses, but a few points may be suggested here. With verbs of emotional reaction the reflexive, infrequent in Latin which normally used the mediopassive in this reference, has become in OF the regular construction, and in MF its use has been extended to verbs of nervous reaction. The germ of this development Miss Hatcher finds in such hyperbolic and ironic jests as the *me comedo*, *me ango* of Plautus. Another significant OF phenomenon, of which only remnants persist today, is the extensive use of *s'en* with primary intransitives of movement; here a dynamic effect is achieved by the *soi* which initiates the movement and the *en* that sweeps it forward. To the chapter on OF is appended a discussion of the conjugation of reflexive verbs with *être*. This construction, hitherto variously explained, the author rather convincingly traces to the OF dynamic "completed present" of the type *levez est!* to which a *soi* was added to maintain the distinction already existing between the simple present *leve* and *se leve*. From the vital category of verbs of movement the use of *être* then spread to other reflexives and evicted the comparatively infrequent reflexive with *avoir*.⁴

As regards MF, the most important development is perhaps the wide spread of the reflexive of animization, narrowly confined in Latin and in OF hardly to be found. Today this use of the reflexive has taken over the function of the Latin mediopassive and closely approaches, though it never quite intrudes upon nor replaces, the passive.

While one may not always agree with the author's interpretations⁵ which are necessarily to a certain degree subjective, her book

² Supposedly (p. 5) from the *Eulalia* to *Chrétien*. Of the twenty-two texts (counting Marie's *Lais* as one) that are listed, two are later: Ambroise's *Estoire de la guerre sainte* and the *Roman de la Rose*. But the latter is quoted only twice, once from Bartsch-Wiese and once incidentally in Chapter III. Occasional supplementary examples, some later, are drawn from Bartsch, Godefroy, Tobler-Lommatsch, and elsewhere.

³ Based mainly on eleven prose writers, represented by one volume each, from Flaubert to Jules Romains.

⁴ It would have been interesting to note that in *Alexis* 288, where *L* has *se ad . . . cumandet*, *P* reads *sest . . . cummandez*.

⁵ In a few cases she has simply misunderstood her text: p. 77, n. 1: *poinent* represents not *poindre* but *pener* (so delete mention of *poindre* on p. 89

is stimulating in its original method of approach and, though not easy reading, is by no means dull. It is animated by an enthusiasm for her subject that leads her at times to almost lyric outbursts, and she never loses sight of the social, psychological, and stylistic implications of the material with which she deals. Thus she draws an illuminating contrast between the twelfth century and the modern attitudes toward the Self (pp. 78-83, 149-152).

Some questions remain unanswered. How, for instance, would Miss Hatcher explain such reflexives as *se habere* (*bene habemus nos*, Cic. *Att.* 2. 8.1, or, with inanimate subject, *ita res se habet*, *id. Rosc.* 124), or the *or se cante* of *Aucassin et Nicolette*, or the modern *se souvenir*, none of which is mentioned? Of her OF texts, all but the *Jonas* are in verse; may metrical exigencies have been a possible factor in the alternation of intransitive and reflexive forms? One wonders finally to what extent the author's conclusions might have been modified if she had enlarged the scope of her study to include in one continuous sweep the period of later Latin and that between the twelfth century and the nineteenth, and at the same time considered the development of the reflexive in other Romance languages. This would be a heavy task, but perhaps Miss Hatcher, her foundations already laid, will some day undertake it.

PERCIVAL B. FAY

University of California

and in Index); p. 84, line 1: *servis* is second person and no reflexive is involved; p. 109, line 7: *eslistrent* represents *eslire*, not *eslaissier* (delete this reference from Index).—An exercise of greater care in rechecking might have avoided a not inconsiderable number of faulty references and inaccurate quotations, particularly in Chapter II. Following is a list, which might easily be extended, of miscellaneous corrections (not including obvious typographical slips which the reader will automatically correct): p. 40, n.: read *principibus* . . . *Achivis*; p. 50, line 13: add *Or.* 1.6; p. 51: for *do* read *dedo*; p. 60, n.: for *Ep.* 326 read *Tri.* 225; p. 68: for *continuo* read *contineo*; p. 71: for *Aen.* 449 read *Aen.* 4.49; p. 75: for Walburg read Walberg; p. 76: for *Li charrois* read *Le charroi*, for *Wilalme* read *Willame*, and give editor's name (Hoeppfner) rather than publisher's (Heitz) for Marie's *Lais* (1921); the *Chievrefueil*, twice quoted, should be listed here; p. 83, line 17: for *mes* read *Eneas*; p. 84, line 3: add *Wil.* 1744; p. 86, line 16: insert reference *En.* 3100; p. 87, line 16: for *en* read *enz*; p. 88, n. 22: for III read II; p. 89: insert at line 13 reference to n. 24; p. 91: for *Yv.* 441 read *Yv.* 2029, and for *Perceval (B-W 124)* read *Yv.* 1983; line 21: add *CL* 1214; p. 94, line 22: for *Li empereür* . . . *N'ait* read *L'empeür* . . . *N'i ait*; p. 97, line 10: for *ne lasse ne* read *lasse et*; p. 98: for *CR* 3461 read *CR* 3641; p. 105, line 1: for *tornet* read *tornot*; p. 112: for *CR* 309 read *CR* 2309; p. 113, line 17: for *corrodier* read *corrocier*; p. 114: for *Brut* read *Tristan*; p. 115, line 23: for *Qu'il* read *Que il*; p. 116: for *Chait.* read *Chievrefueil*; p. 117, line 2: for *halz* read *helz*; line 5: for *Pel.* 111 read *Pel.* 545; line 13: for *En* read *Et*; p. 120, line 27: for *repairent* read *repairet*; p. 133, line 17: for *corneilles* read *corueilles* and for 11 read 411; p. 136: add here example from *CR* 425 quoted on p. 139; p. 139, line 25: for *Guens* read *Guenes*; p. 142: for *seoiert* read *sient* and in n. for *seoit* read *siet*; p. 144, line 5: for *Rünsch* read *Rönsch* and in n. 99 for *Hoffman* read *Hofmann*; p. 156: for *recouvrir* read (twice) *recouver* and correct in Index: *s'offrir* à is commoner than *s'offrir de*; p. 164, n.: is not *pavane* < Sp. *pavana* < *pavo* (so Bloch, *Dict. Etym.*)?; p. 178: for *G* 42 read *AG* 42 (?); p. 192: what is meant by *li vallons hausse*?; p. 193: *C* 146 (?).

Thackeray: A Critical Portrait. By JOHN W. DODDS. New York: Oxford University Press, 1941. Pp. vii + 257. \$3.00.

If a man would be a critic, he should know his subject so well that he would write with confidence. Mr. Dodds' critical portrait of Thackeray is a splendid example of this generalization. He writes about Thackeray, not about what someone else has said or thought. Mr. Dodds set himself the task of knowing everything that Thackeray had written, and then, using this material, and trusting his own judgment, he forged ahead. Thus Mr. Dodds' book on Thackeray is more completely his own work than can be said of almost any modern professional scholar. It is encouraging as a method, it is intellectually a challenge to other critics, and it sets a standard for others to emulate.

Mr. Dodds gives us a chronological study of Thackeray's intellectual and artistic development. In following this plan he relates him to his time and place, and since Thackeray was always a man of thought, always seeking to create an art that would give a critical evaluation of his time, Mr. Dodds finds the portrait of the man in his ideas and his art forms. The moral grip of the age held Thackeray in his final judgments as securely as it held his contemporaries, but his reaction to and treatment of his time was always intellectual and not sentimental. From this study emerges a man whose mind was clear and sharp, and whose sensitivity to life was keen enough to give what he knew an appealing art form. In this respect Mr. Dodds' book makes one feel, to a remarkable degree, the fine mind of Thackeray in contrast to the sentimentality and profound ignorance of Dickens. Not that Mr. Dodds makes any such express statement, but because he forces upon one so strongly the conviction of Thackeray's mind dominating his material, he unavoidably raises a contrast with the mindless quality of Dickens' genius.

In this complete and satisfying study of Thackeray, Mr. Dodds has apparently left no scrap of Thackeray's writing unexamined. The task is performed with a convincing thoroughness. It is a calm and measured judgment that gives one an understanding and appreciation of the man and his age. There is sympathy for Thackeray's personal tragedy, there is understanding of his limitations, admiration for his genius, and all is portrayed in a manner that is lucid and satisfying.

SOPHUS KEITH WINTHER

University of Washington

Victorian Prelude: a History of English Manners, 1770-1830. By Maurice J. Quinlan. New York: Columbia Press, 1941. Pp. 301. \$3.00.

Not long ago a writer in the *TLS* used Professor John W. Dodds' *Thackeray: a Critical Portrait* as the occasion for one of those pseudo-reviews which contain more opinion than judgment, and which presents a thesis more arresting for its suggestiveness

than sound in its historical basis.¹ Quoting from M. Abel Chevalley's *La Roman anglais de notre temps*, the reviewer maintained that "Victorianism" was the off-spring of early 19th-century "Germanism": "the predominance of the moral point of view, care for respectability, the union of fiction with edification, the divorce of proper (*bienséantes*) realities from the improper, a sometimes cloying abundance, disregard for the truth in and for itself; a *sensibilité de vitrine, fleurs de Gemüthlichkeit à tous les étalages*." Thus Mr. Samuel Titmarsh's real trouble was that he tried to be at once "Germanic" and "Celtic," to hold a "clannish, cosy, sentimental, jolly and gentlemanly view," and also to maintain "an irritatingly clear correction of this view, showing up snobbery, cant, hypocrisy, and corruption." One would have thought that, since the days of Matthew Arnold's unhappy theorizings in *The Study of Celtic Literature*, we had done with such vaporous and futile generalizations. Indeed one of the editors of the *TLS* seems himself to have had his qualms. For on the page facing the Thackeray review-article, one finds an editorial expressing an acute sense of distress, and asking some embarrassing questions of the reviewer, concerning the sentimental novel in the 18th century, the influence of Rousseau, middle-class Evangelicalism, and the Victorianism of Victoria herself.

Now the only point in bringing an English review of a book on Thackeray into relationship with Dr. Quinlan's *Victorian Prelude* is that Dr. Quinlan's book is another refutation of the argument that American scholarship, in producing books on very limited subjects or on subjects scarcely related to English literature, is performing a useless task. A knowledge of the facts presented in *Victorian Prelude* would have made impossible such a clever, glossy, and specious account of Victorian sentimentalism as that given in the *TLS*. For Dr. Quinlan has clearly and abundantly shown that "no one circumstance was responsible for the new order" of Respectability. On the contrary, "the conservative reaction to the French Revolution, the Evangelical revival, the influence of aggressive societies and propagandist literature, the role of the model female, Sunday schools and monitorial systems, censorship and the stifling of free opinion—all these, combined with other circumstances, had mutually contributed to the growth of stricter standards" by 1830 (p. 254). The author's book is simply an elaboration upon that statement. He shows that we must go back as far as the Society for the Reformation of Manners (1692) if we are to reach the roots of 19th-century English moralism. He traces the growth of this tendency from such societies (led by lawyers, justices of the peace, and members of parliament) through the work of Collier, Steele and Addison, Methodism, the great Evan-

¹ See "Titmarsh's Spectacles: Anglo-Saxon and Celt in Thackeray: Towards an English Vision." *The (London) Times Literary Supplement*, August 29, 1942, p. 426.

gelical divines of the 18th century (Newton, Venn, Romaine, Scott, and Law), the amazing works of Sarah Trimmer and Hannah More, the anti-Jacobin movement, the spontaneous rise of lower- and middle-class desire for "respectability," the tract- and Bible-societies, the expurgators and Bowdlerizers, and, not least, the development of the Sunday school—"of all the educational systems of the early 19th century, the Sunday schools did most to change the standards of the masses" (p. 166). It is quite clear that, without recourse to foreign influences, it is possible to account for that psychological and social phenomenon which we call "Victorianism." Dr. Quinlan's study also affords many opportunities for the reader to see the real context of nineteenth-century men and books: one better understands the opening passages of Newman's *Apologia* for having read pages 36-38 on the Evangelical religious writers; one better realizes why the gentlemen in Jane Austen's novels are "almost always Mr. Darcy, Mr. Bingley, or Mr. Collins" (p. 265), why Tom Paine and Richard Carlile must figure in any discussion of Victorianism, why and how the cult of "seriousness" arose (pp. 185-86), why Richmond's *Dairyman's Daughter* was "probably more widely read during the 19th century than any other work except the Bible"² (p. 194), and why most children of the middle class were brought up on *The History of the Fairchild Family* (p. 198). In short, much light is thrown on the great public for which the most "Victorian" works of Dickens, Trollope, and Tennyson were written. And we realize anew that while the Englishman's belief in his ethnical superiority was already centuries old, his belief in his moral superiority was relatively new: "virtue and morality had only recently triumphed" (p. 253). Here no doubt is the source of much Victorian optimism, smugness, and superficiality.

Though Dr. Quinlan's work deals only indirectly with literature, it is of great interest and genuine importance to all students of Victorianism who wish to avail themselves of facts before they utter any generalizations on the Englishmen of the 19th century.

CHARLES FREDERICK HARROLD

Michigan State Normal College

² A little known but very curious and skillful use is made of this once popular novel by John Henry Newman (who evidently had once admired it) in *Lectures on the Doctrine of Justification*, London, 1890, pp. 330-31n.

COMMENT

Je me permets d'ajouter les remarques suivantes à l'article pénétrant de M. Malkiel, "Old French *Soutif* 'Solitary'" publié ici-même (déc. 1942):

(1) M. Malkiel explique (p. 642) *subtilis* > anc. fr. *soutif* par l'attraction numérique qu'exerçaient les formations multiples en *-tif* sur celles, si peu fréquentes, en *-tîl*: n'y aurait-il pas une raison encore plus puissante? C'est que *subtilis* devait donner *soutieus* comme *vilis* > *vieus*, *filius* > *fiens*, *axilis* > *aissieus*, *pîus* > *pieus* (Meyer-Lübke, *Hist. gr. d. fra. Spr.* I, § 78)—par ce développement *soutieus* était arrivé sur le même niveau que *Judaus* > *juieus* dont le féminin était *juive*, sur lequel à son tour *juif* est formé (Meyer-Lübke, § 260). Ainsi nous pouvons supposer une séquence: *subtilis* > *soutieus*, fém. (analogique) *soutive* masc. *soutif* (forme régressive). On remarquera l'adverbe *sultivement* à côté de *sotilment* aux p. 643-4—c'est précisément par l'adverbe (où la forme féminine *sultive*—[plus claire que *soutil*-(ment)] était indiquée), que la substitution de l'adjectif *soutif* à *soutil* pouvait être encouragée.

(2) M. Malkiel écrit (p. 637): "*Solitariu* persisted in the Spanish Peninsula, but suffered its connotation to be narrowed down to 'bachelor,' while **solitosu* seems to have arisen in Portuguese alone (*soidoso* > *saudoso*)." Il fait évidemment allusion à l'esp. *soltero*, port. *solteiro*, cat. *solter* "célibataire," mais ces mots sont sûrement, comme le prouvent (1) le *-t* vis-à-vis du *-d-* de *saidoso*, (2) les formes esp. *suelto* (*El buey suelto* de Pereda!) et prov. *solt*, a.cat. *femna solta* "libre, non marié," des dérivés de **solvitus*, cf. *Neuph. Mitt.*, XXII, et REW, s.v. *solvere*. Déjà Couarrubias avait dit (s.v. *soltar*): "Es calidad del moço *soltero* estar solo, y *suelto* de todo."

LEO SPITZER

The Johns Hopkins University

In my recent review of Friedrich Hölderlin's *Gedichte*, ed. A. Closs (*MLQ*, Sept., 1942), I took exception to the date 1648 for Hölderlin's poem "Frühling," p. 152. Professor Closs calls my attention to the fact that Hölderlin, then no longer at his best, placed the date there himself, and piety demands that it be allowed to stand.

LAWRENCE M. PRICE

University of California

BOOKS RECEIVED

ENGLISH

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Kaun, Alexander, and Simmons, Ernest J. (editors). *Slavic Studies. Sixteen Essays in Honor of George Rapall Noyes*. Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1943. Pp. x + 242. \$3.00.

Mersand, Joseph. *Drama Goes to War*. New York: The Modern Chapbooks, 1943. [Number 7.] Pp. 45. 50 cents.

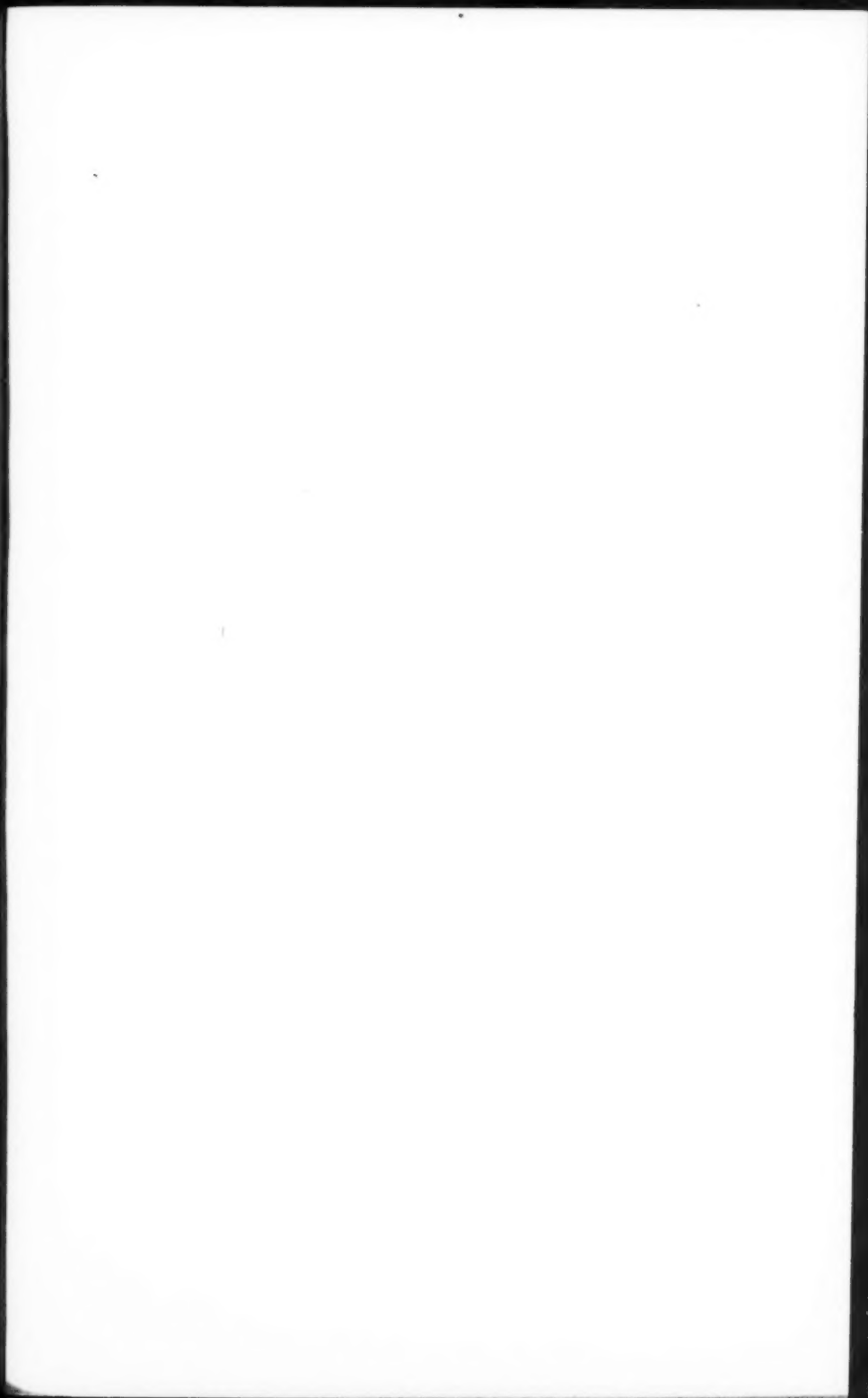
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Contents: *Carlyle, Hitler, and Emerson: a Comparison of Political Theories*, by Irene P. McKeehan; *The London Stage, 1870-90*, by E. J. West.

* Books received which treat non-literary aspects of Latin-America will be found listed, and in many cases reviewed, in the *Revista Iberoamericana*.





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